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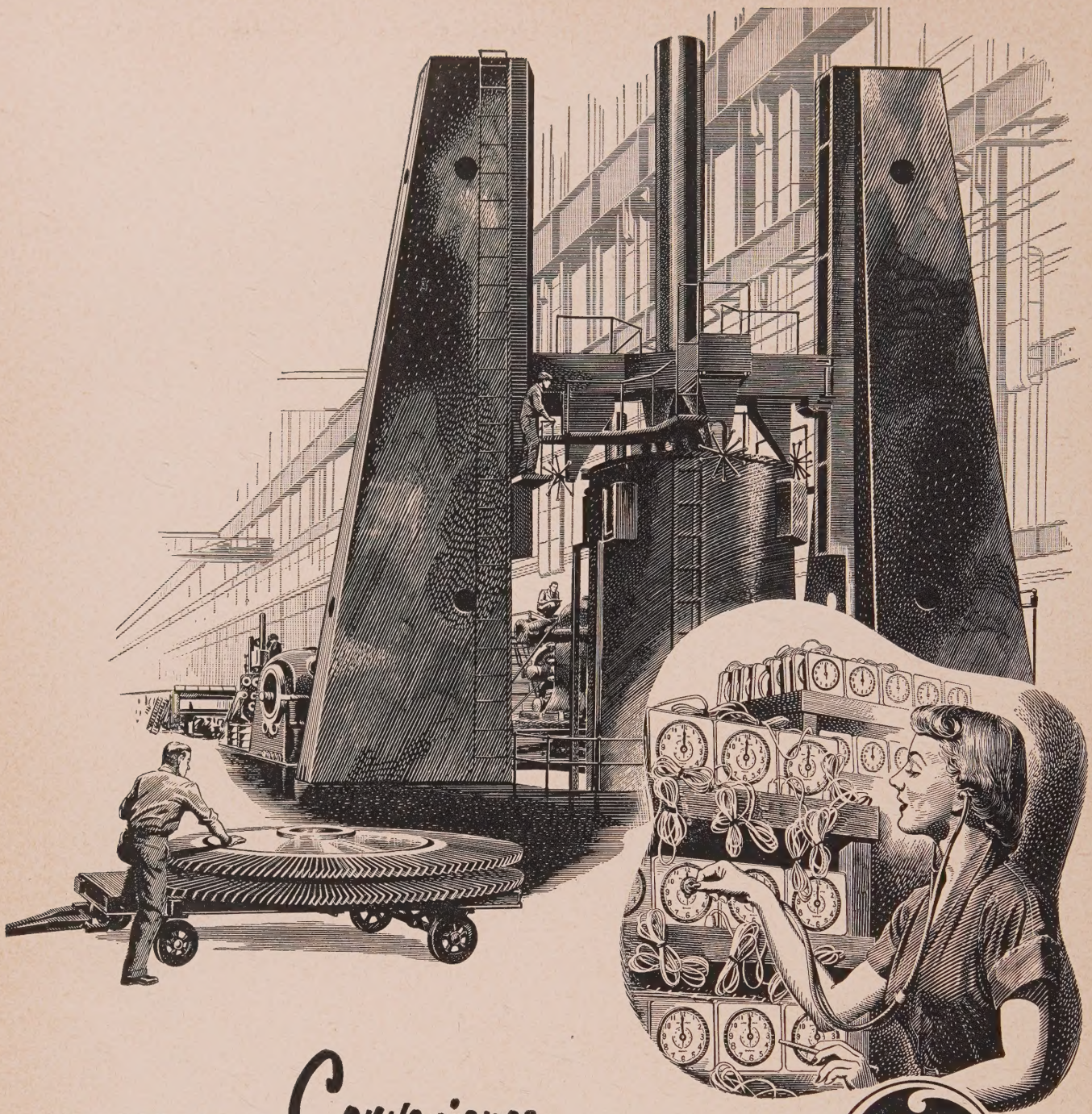

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UNITED NATIONS WORLD, May 1950, Vol. 4, No. 5. Published monthly by U.N. World, Inc., 319 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Entered as second class matter August 2, 1948, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Price: 35 cents a copy, $4.00 for one year, $7.00 for two years, $9.00 for three years. Foreign postage outside possessions, Western Hemisphere and Spain, $1.00 a year. Printed in the U.S.A. Copyright 1950 by U.N. World, Inc.

United Nations **WORLD** *Magazine*

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:
Pearl S. Buck
Lin Yutang
Thomas Mann
Jawaharlal Nehru
Vernon Pope
Eliot Pratt
Vincent Sheean
William L. Shirer
Fred Smith
Richard J. Walsh

EDITOR:
Louis Dolivet

PUBLISHER:
Egbert White

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:
Jackson Leighter

EDITORIAL:
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Laura Vitray, *UN Editor*
David Cort, *Feature Editor*
Pearl M. Steinhaus, *Pictures & Production*
Myron Leslie Hurwitz
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Mary Paull
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Kenneth Audroue

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Fernandez MacGregor, *Mexico City*

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Louis Dolivet, *International Editor*
England: Francis Noel-Baker, *Editor*
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SUBSCRIPTIONS: $4.00 one year, $7.00 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign postage, outside United States possessions, Western Hemisphere nations and Spain, $1.00, Postage to APO and FPO addressed free. Single copy price, 35c. Copyright 1950 by U.N. World, Inc., 319 East 44th St., New York 17, N. Y. All rights reserved under the Pan-American Copyright Convention and International Copyright Union.

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Vuelva a Visitarnos

Excelentisimo
Señor Gabriel Gonzalez Videla
Presidente de Chile

La visita de S.E. a los Estados Unidos contribuye a fortalecer el mutuo interés y los estrechos vinculos de amistad que siempre han existido entre Chile y nuestra Patria.

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STATE OF THE WORLD

The One-Man Crusade of Trygve Lie

Hopes and Fears of his European Trip

WITHIN a few weeks, the Secretary General of the United Nations will be the sole living individual in a position to answer the most debated question of our time: "Can East-West relations be improved?"

In the course of his trip to Europe, Trygve Lie will attempt to break the deadlock between East and West, and explore the conditions under which the cold war may be ended.

Mr. Lie's negotiations with the four major governments—US, USSR, France and Great Britain—will go beyond the Chinese problem, or even the proposal concerning a special session of the Security Council attended by the Foreign Ministers. They will cover all avenues which would make possible a new beginning of full-fledged international cooperation within the framework of the United Nations.

Mr. Lie is today about the only man who can simultaneously reach the heads of the Big Four. His trip to Europe is the major political event, so far, of the year 1950.

Following his dramatic last-minute visit to President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson, Mr. Lie left for Europe on April 22nd, armed with full knowledge of the United States' position on the main international political issues.

In an unprecedented move, Mr. Lie took with him the Assistant Secretaries General who are in charge of three major departments of the United Nations, namely, Security, Economic, and Social Affairs. The choice of these Assistant Secretaries General is particularly interesting, in view of the fact that they are nationals of the countries with whose governments Mr. Lie will conduct negotiations which may be of great historic importance.

The three top men who are accompanying Mr. Lie are Constantin Zinchenko of the USSR, David Owen of Great Britain and Henri Laugier of France. Each of these men held important positions in his own country before coming to the United Nations. Each, besides carrying on his regular duties in representing the UN at various important meetings in Europe, will undoubtedly be of utmost assistance in Mr. Lie's negotiations with the French, British and Soviet governments.

It is certain by now that Mr. Lie will meet the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and France—Ernest Bevin and Robert Schuman.

While on major international issues the positions of the US, France and Great Britain are essentially identical (except in respect to the German problem), there are nevertheless important nuances insofar as methods of world democratic strategy and timing of various political moves are concerned.

France undoubtedly needs time—time to let the Atlantic Pact take full

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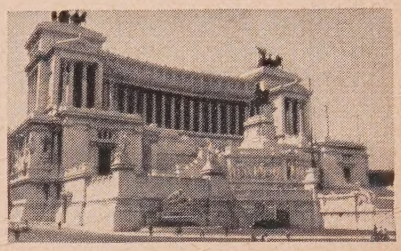

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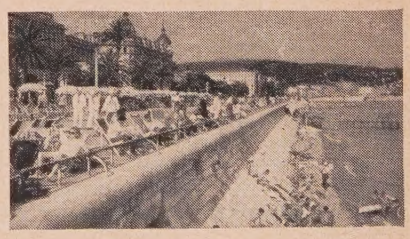

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SOW *continued*

effect, and to strengthen her military defenses; time to stabilize and widen support for the Atlantic Pact concept within France. Great Britain needs to concentrate her major energies on economic development, which an armament race would seriously impair.

But the great test for Mr. Lie, and the most delicate part of his mission, will come in Moscow. While the Secretary General was naturally reticent about making known his specific plans particularly with regard to the Soviet trip—it can be stated that his visit to Moscow is a certainty.

Much will depend on the extent to which the Soviet Government is impressed by Mr. Lie's grave fears about the international situation. His personal prestige in the Soviet Union is not great. While the Soviets were undoubtedly satisfied with his stand on China, it should not be forgotten that Mr. Lie previously had been sharply criticized by the Soviet press and radio, which described him as performing the role of "speaking trumpet and propagandist" of the Anglo-American bloc in the UN.

It is certain that Mr. Lie will not mince words with the four governments. He is absolutely convinced that it is his duty as Secretary General to save the United Nations organization, and he will leave nothing undone in his efforts toward that end.

In his unique role as the highest international official, Mr. Lie will not advance any program. His particular technique will be to suggest and explore points of international contact and agreement.

The outcome of Mr. Lie's trip will have great bearing upon the immediate future of mankind.

A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT ON CHILE

PAGES 45-80

Articles by

PRESIDENT GONZALEZ VIDELA

and

CORDELL HULL

ON

A Program for the World

Greetings to CHILE

It has been a privilege to meet and work with the government officials and representatives of the people of Chile. We deem it a great honor to have had a part in engineering the fine Integrated Steel Plant for Compania de Acero del Pacifico, Concepcion, San Vincente Bay.

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The Masquerade of World Politics

By DAVID CORT

PROFESSIONAL diplomats and politicians realize more and more that in their daily work they are obstructed by a subtle and dangerous intellectual hazard. The words they use have been disfigured by time. The political labels inherited from the 19th Century no longer describe the political programs, situations and realities which they, their colleagues and opponents must deal with. In short, Communism is no longer Communism, Socialism is not Socialism and what is called Capitalism is a travesty on the classical Capitalism.

Doubtless a similar process of experience led President Truman to say "Communism is not Communism under any circumstances."

"Communism" in Russia has in fact abandoned most major principles of the Communist society envisaged by Marx and Engels. 1) The chasm between the masses and the elite is widening, not narrowing. 2) Marx's program of decreasing the State's power as the people learned self-government has been reversed. 3) The moneyless State of Marx now harangues the people to save their money, i.e., build capital reserves, as capitalistically as Horatio Alger. 4) Instead of trying to improve the comfort of the masses, the State is primarily concerned with the defense of the State, internally against its own citizens, and externally. What remains of the original Marxian concept is State ownership of the means of production.

In foreign policy, the idealistic concepts of the brotherhood of Man and the Socialist world state have been dropped to give the right of way to Russia's all-out drive for world leadership.

"Socialism" in England, Scandinavia, Australia and New Zealand, apart from nationalizing some industry for solid cash compensation, is bourgeois in personnel, tastes and living habits, nationalist in internationalist policy, royalist where monarchy is a national tradition, moral and frequently religious with an intensity shaming the frankly bourgeois capitalist nations.

"Capitalism," especially in the USA, preaches rugged individualism while it taxes the blood out of current income. The only remaining plutocrats are the dwindling few who made their money before 1932 and kept it, the gamblers and the Texans whose oil royalties slip through a hole in the income tax law.

The Cold War is a war of political clichés. It is not a military war or openly an economic war. It is a war for the souls of men, in which the weapons are these clashing words, "Communism," "Socialism" and "Capitalism." Men search one another's hearts to discover whether the stranger is friend or foe, Communist, Socialist or Capitalist. The words make a great clashing, but that is all.

If the Cold War were really a war of fundamental, intransigeant principles sacred to the death, there could be no final solution but shooting war.

The upper box on the next page is a table of the world's present politicians, lined up according to their orthodox standing as Reactionaries, Conservatives, Center Liberals, Socialists and Communists. The intention is to place each politician in his conventional, well-understood position in the table. This alignment takes politicians' labels at face value.

The bottom chart on the page is another table which rearranges some of the same names in the light of the actual social programs to which they are realistically committed. The world's people surely need some such calibration of realities in the current political bedlam.

But before such a realignment can be made, it is necessary to examine, one by one, the peculiar political atmospheres, the unspoken commitments, the ghostly hand of the past, in a dozen or so nations. There are indeed bed-fellows in many countries, though many a politician would be astonished by the company he keeps.

England: All parties (except the Communist) are basically agreed on what England's world role should and shall be: a proud legacy from Shakespeare, Wellington, Keats and Disraeli. Indeed the "Socialist" internationalism of the Labor Party often lags far behind the real internationalism of Churchill's "Conservatives," long trained in geopolitical thinking. Churchill wants a federation of Europe now; "Socialist" Labor does not. The "Conservatives" have now accepted partial nationalization of industry and themselves claim to have proposed socialized

UNW's Table of the World's Politicians

	SPAIN	SO. AFRICA	BELGIUM	WESTERN GERMANY	US	ITALY	SWITZERLAND
EXTREME RIGHT	**Franco**	Pirow	Degrelle (underground)	Heder Loritz	Rankin	Scorza	
CONSERVATIVE	Robles	**Malan**		Richter	Taft		
MILD CONSERVATIVE			**van Zeeland**	**Adenauer**	Vandenberg	De Caro	Celio Picot
LIBERAL CENTER		Smuts	Gillon	Heuss	**Truman**	**De Gasperi** Pacciardi	**Petitpie** Schmid
MILD SOCIALIST		Christie	Spaak	Schumacher	Wallace	Saragat Silone	Nobs
FULL SOCIALIST				Schmid	Thomas	Nenni	
COMMUNIST			Lahaut	Reimann	Foster	Togliatti	Nicole

Bold face names are present heads of government.

medicine. Whatever his inherited preferences, Churchill has adjusted himself to a future for England almost as Leftist as America's Norman Thomas and well left of Truman.

France: Love of ideological logic and a sharp realism paradoxically dominate French politics to the point of apparent chaos, but the principle of government in France retains an amazing stability amid the uproar. A sophisticated mutual tolerance rises above ideology and enables the Catholic MRP, the anti-clerical Radical Socialists and the free-thinking Socialists to work together. Even the "Socialists" believe in the French Empire. But all three are shocked and frightened by de Gaulle's demand for a strong central authority, which the French do not want to give anybody. The Catholic center is virtually Socialist; the "Socialists" are really Liberals. As the "Socialists" have grown more conservative, the Communists of France have pretended to move to the right too to catch disillusioned Socialists, so that they *sound* like pre-War Socialists.

Italy: The split between Left and Right is much wider in Italy. The dominant Christian Democrats are approximately as conservative as the USA Republicans. The conservative Italian peasant (except for his land-hunger) is even more cynical about politicians than the French farmer. Most Italians feel themselves culturally superior to any other people, with some reason. The Socialists, united with the Communists in 1946, have since split three times as various factions moved to withdraw from the Communists who follow the Moscow line faithfully and especially detest the US. Saragat, mildest of the Socialists, is more moderate than British Labor.

Western Germany: The unspoken law of all German parties at this moment is German survival, which may require hypocrisy while the conquerors are still on the scene. Germans are better actors, when the Fatherland is at stake, than is supposed. German politics is undermined by the conviction that there is sure to be another war in which the combatants will need the German soldier whom the Germans consider to be one of the world's best, with some reason. Here too the dominant party is the Christian Democrat whose program is about as conservative as US Republicans', though here dominated by Bavarian Catholics who endorse a mild version of the welfare state. On its declared program, the Communist Party *sounds* as moderate as in France.

The Low Countries: In both nations, the dominant parties are Cath-

The Lineup Accordin

	USA	SOUTH AFRICA	WESTERN GERMANY	ITALY
EXTREME RIGHT	Rankin	**Malan**		
CONSERVATIVE	Taft	Smuts	**Adenauer**	**De Gas**
MILD CONSERVATIVE	Vandenberg		Heuss	
LIBERAL CENTER	**Truman**	Christie	Schumacher	Pacciardi
MILD SOCIALIST	Wallace		Schmid	Saragat
FULL SOCIALIST	Norman Thomas			Silone Nenni
COMMUNIST	Foster		Reimann	Togliatti

Classified According to Conventional Labels

FRANCE	GREECE	UK	NETHER-LANDS	SWEDEN	CHILE	INDIA	CHINA	USSR
Gaxotte	Zervas	Mosley	Welter	Hedin				
de Gaulle	Tsaldaris			Hjalmarsson	Alessandri		**Chiang**	
Ramaroy Reynaud		Churchill	Andriessen Tilanus	Hedlund	Walker			
Bidault Herriot	Venizelos Papandreou	Davies	Stikker	Ohlin	Estay			
Mollet	**Plastiras**	**Attlee**	**Drees**	**Erlander**	**Gonzalez**			
	Svolos	A. Bevan			Grove	**Nehru**		
Thorez	Zachariades	Gallacher	Wagenaar	Lager	Contreras		**Mao**	**Stalin**

olic, "conservative," Royalist, but the Dutch premier is a member of the Labor Party which offers a peculiarly non-Socialist form of "Socialism" which frowns on any increase in the State's power. In Belgium, the Dutch-speaking Flemings swing politics somewhat to the right and even the "Socialists" ask little more than the elimination of parochial schools. In both countries the "Socialists" seem more conservative than the "Conservatives" of England. The Communists are surprisingly weak and pointlessly extreme, differing in both respects from France, Germany and Italy.

Scandinavia: All three countries have long since put into effect at least the full program of the welfare state. The "conservative" parties accept as a fact the moderate Socialism of the governments. If they should come to power, their programs would be well to the left of President Truman. Religious piety is a powerful atmospheric factor, especially in Lutheran Sweden. The Communists in Scandinavia are extreme and relatively impotent, at their best in Denmark with nine deputies.

Greece: All parties profess a mild Socialism well short of nationalization of industry. The Greeks are nearly as cynical of politics as the Italians. It seemed that the war with the guerrilla Communists had hopelessly widened the gap between Left and Right, but the March 5 elections showed a strong trend against the extreme Right. The Greeks gathered around the center parties. Greece still showed traces of colonialism, so that politics has been conditioned largely by personalities and foreign policy rather than domestic issues.

Ireland: Social programs are less important than a politician's tone of voice when he says the word, "England." Hence, the two major parties are as alike and both as relatively conservative as the US major parties. Even the "Socialist" Labor Party is a little more conservative than some sections of the American Democratic Party, for it aims its appeal at pious farmers.

Egypt: The parties stand less for social programs than for politicians' attitudes toward Great Britain, the Egyptian King and one another. Socially all the "radical" parties are conservative, in Western terms. Practically all are seceded fragments of the dominant Wafd Party. The atmosphere may be compared to 18th Century Whig politics in England.

Uruguay: The most democratic and stable of Latin-American governments has, like the US, two chief parties: the Red and the White. The "Red" is the equivalent of the Democratic Party and its program is about

to the Facts of Political Life

NETHER-LANDS	BELGIUM	TURKEY	FRANCE	UK & IRELAND	SWEDEN
				Mosley	
Tilanus Andriessen **Drees**	**van Zeeland**	**Inonu**	de Gaulle	de Valera Costello	
	Gillon				Hjalmarsson Hedlund
	Spaak		Reynaud		Ohlin
			Bidault Mollet	Churchill **Attlee**	**Erlander**
				A. Bevan	
Wagenaar	Lahaut		Thorez	Gallacher	Lager

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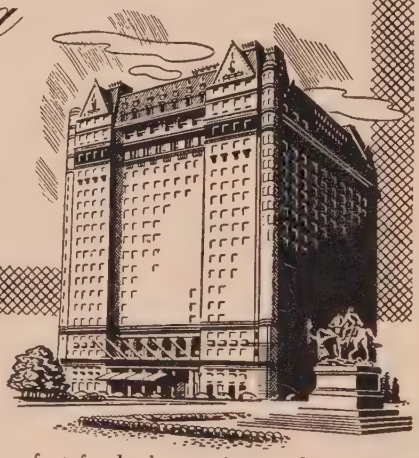

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Masquerade *continued*

the same. The White is reactionary. Uruguay uses a brilliant device of letting as many candidates as want to, run for high office under a single party emblem, the top vote-getter being credited with all the party votes.

Some others using the two-party system: Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Paraguay and the Republic of The Philippines.

Some others using the European system: Cuba, Guatemala, Panama, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil.

One country using the all-party system in government: Switzerland.

One-party system: USSR, Yugoslavia, Soviet satellite countries, China, Spain.

"One-and-a-half-party" system: Turkey, Argentina, Mexico, Dominican Republic and Liberia.

No-party system: Ethiopia, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iran (probably only temporarily), et al.

Comparisons are always dangerous, but what is even more dangerous is either self-delusion or an anarchic resignation to senselessness.

Winston Churchill speaks with the tongue of the great Tories of the past. He feels like a humanistic leader in the old style. But in fact the social program to which he is committed is indistinguishable from that of Henry Wallace, the American Mild Socialist. Though they may be worlds apart (and they are not) in temperament, ideals and foreign policy, they might as well bear the same political label. Strange as are these two bedfellows, they will find in the same bed all the "Socialist" Scandinavian Premiers, the Italian Socialist Saragat, as well as Premier Bidault of France.

President Truman, the Liberal Centrist, finds his fellow-travelers in the semi-Socialist conservatives of France and Scandinavia, such men as Reynaud and Pacciardi and the German Socialist, Schumacher.

On the same basis, the American "Conservative," Robert Taft, might be horrified to find his prototypes in the Dutch Laborite Premier Drees, President Inonu of Turkey and the "radical" de Valera of Ireland, as well as in Switzerland's President Petitpierre and Germany's Adenauer.

The American reactionaries are reasonably comparable to the "radical" politicians of Egypt and a good deal more progressive than the Conservatives of South Africa.

If one considers only the net real income of the "ruling class," the most aristocratic, old-fashioned countries are probably the USSR (where a factory manager keeps about $30,000 a year in money and kind) and Texas. The rich of parts of Latin America and some Moslem countries are close behind, though in the latter the rich have expensive feudal obligations. Other profitable zones: Spain, South Africa, Liberia, Hongkong, Tangiers. The least "capitalistic" countries are the Western democracies where income taxes take up to 90 per cent of so-called income.

If one takes the yardstick of imperialism, even French "Socialists" want to maintain the French Union; even Dutch Catholic "conservatives" favored equality for Indonesia; and even British "conservatives" accept the independence of India and Pakistan, because they must.

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Masquerade *continued*

The one issue on which the old political divisions hold good is monarchism. When this issue arises in Belgium or Greece or anywhere else, everyone knows immediately where he stands. Then, at last, a Conservative is really a Conservative, a Socialist is a Socialist and a Liberal is a Liberal. This suggests that the political labels are really humanistic in character, defining temperamental preferences for one sort of person as against another.

It would certainly be unhelpful to conclude on a note of total confusion, nor is this necessary. Some single point of view, however, must be adopted. The rather vague American political labels may be used as well as any other and the politicians rearranged according to an American understanding of social programs.

Thus we have something like the second table shown above.

The revised table makes some surprising points. The British parties are bunched together around a Mild So-

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cialism, as are also the French, with the Right widely separated from the group in one direction and the Communists giving at least lip-service to a reasonable Socialism largely abandoned by the Socialists. The gap between the Communists and the rest of the parties is widest where the Communists are most impotent, as in the Low Countries and Scandinavia.

This table is offered for what light and enlightenment it may give, certainly not to offend any statesman or his admirers by his bracketing with a sworn enemy. Politics is of course founded on emotion; it is necessarily fraught with emotional antipathies and loyalties rooted in the past. It is not entirely eligible for such a cold and rational evaluation as that outlined here. And yet it may not be too late, since both politicians and voters think they think politics only with their minds, to admit a little objective light into this murky and passionate subject.

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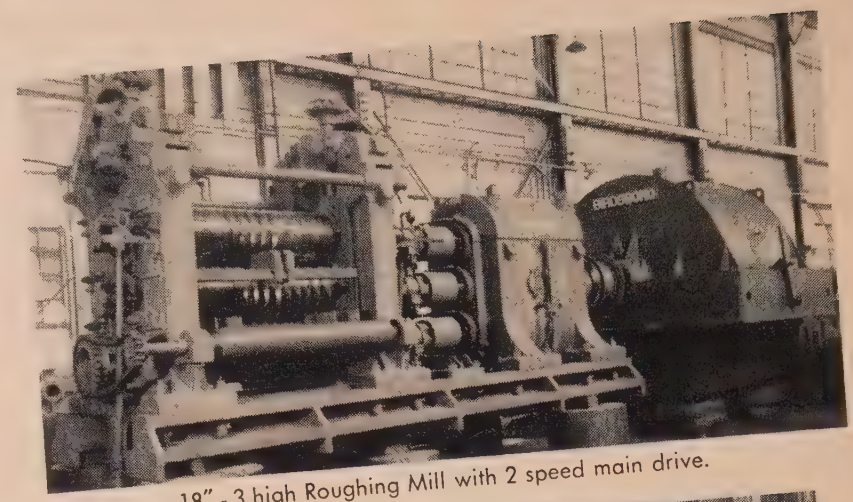

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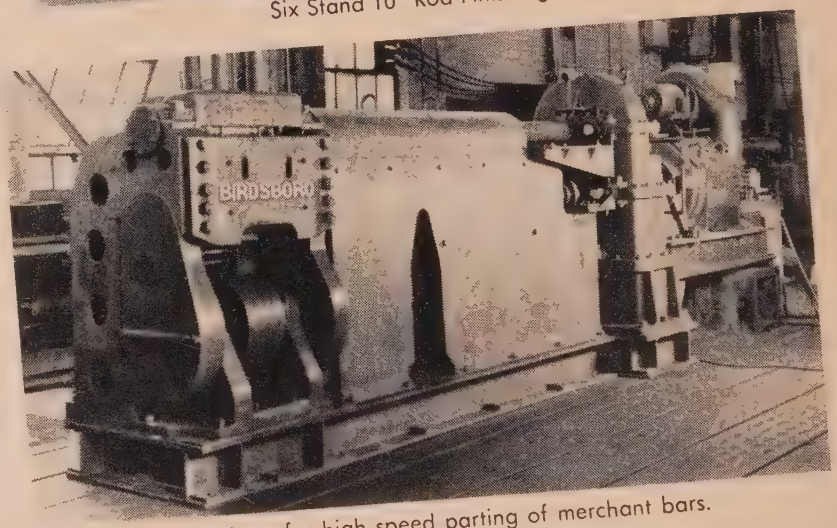

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United Nations WORLD Magazine

May, 1950

The Revolt Against The Giants

II. USA: Eagle or Ostrich?

By G. A. BORGESE

Europe, quaking at the prospect of becoming the helpless battlefield in the gigantic East-West struggle is not only increasingly hostile to the USSR but has lately been critical of many phases of American policies as well. In the April issue of UNW, Vernon Bartlett, world famous foreign correspondent, gave a penetrating account of why Europe's best minds rejected the Communist dogmas. In the following article, Prof. Borgese deals with the equally vital problem of spiritual relationship between Europe and the USA. With an authority which derives from his profound knowledge of both continents, the author gives a brilliant analysis of the fears and misunderstandings that the USA in its new role as a world leader has recently aroused in Europe.

It is fair to assume that in a free referendum on the query, "If you had to choose between Russia and America, which?" a spontaneous and very large majority of Europe would answer "America."

The trouble is in the *if*. As a rule the thinking European does not like the dilemma. He wishes he had not to choose.

This is, though not yet the mainspring of a revolt against the United States, the root of a growing disaffection. Its reasons can be easily outlined in the field of ideas and in the field of interests as well.

The basic dilemma the U.S. proposes to Europe is "either capitalism or communism." The fact is, however, that the alternative has no commanding authority on the European mind.

Historical pride legitimately teaches the thinking European that all contemporary socio-political thought, white or red, western or eastern, came out of Europe from Florence through France and Rhineland to Cobden's as well as Engels' Manchester, in the spare span of time from the Renaissance through England's republican monarchy to the French and industrial revolutions.

In this light, the thinking European can hardly look at the two diametrical extremisms, eastern and western, otherwise than as twin though internecine sectarianisms which are but dogmatic petrifactions of a western European thought. He thinks that classical communism and classical capitalism are romantic bygones, both to a greater or lesser degree, reactionary urges.

He feels warmly obliged to Marshall Plan and ECA which have helped decisively to keep him alive.

The Revolt Against the Giants *continued*

He feels nevertheless that Paul Hoffman, so brilliant and admirable otherwise, is teaching graduates in economics and history as he would freshmen.

The dilemma "either freedom or tyranny" would be more convincing than the alternative of capitalism or communism. It may well be ultimately irrelevant that the area of political freedom in America is being aggressively indented by ostracisms and witch hunts; for the public resistance to these public scandals is as heartening as the prevarications are alarming. It may be a mere effect of circumstances that—at the present moment and with no credit given to unpredictable developments or envelopments tomorrow—there is more political liberty and less restriction of civil rights in England, France or Italy than in the United States.

What Is Freedom?

The more enduring trouble, beyond these passing circumstances, in the American dilemma of freedom versus tyranny, is the unswerving insistence of American statesmanship and propaganda on the identification of political freedom with free enterprise. There is no shred of evidence, past or present, to support the identification. England is still supreme in political freedom; she is no longer —and not even Mr. Churchill wants her to be again—supreme in free enterprise. The optimum demarcation line between the societary (or call it socialistic) and the individualistic systems is and always was empirical and conditional. It shifts, it is not fixed and doctrinal as Moscow and Washington concordantly though antagonistically suppose.

In general the cultivated European, while understanding and speaking English, is unprepared to understand the contradictory alternation in the American politico-economic idiom between the hundred per cent idealistic and pious, and the business-like, hundred percent "talking turkey." If he is a thoughtful friend, if he is not an angry adversary, he will not denounce the ambivalence as fraud. He will construe it as a discursive facility of which he appreciates the good intention while resenting the confusing effect.

The golden legend, though factually documented, of pioneer and frontier, is not much of a spur to free enterprise in lands where the unexpansible frontiers are iron curtains and stone walls.

The exemplary biographies, Plutarchus Americanus, of the self-made millionaires, the newsboy or farm hand who, lo and behold, grew to be an emperor of petroleum, a king of railroads, are little more persuasive in the present circumstances of Europe than lotteries with prizes for a few winners picked by statistical chance from a crowd whose main worry is their daily bread. In those circumstances it is not only the Spartan rationing of England that has its merits. Even the Russian equality in servitude holds a promise, if not of freedom from want, of gratification of the passions of hatred and social envy.

That equality, as the representative European sees it, is deceptive; the servitude is real; the promise is fulfilled in a revolting mess of pottage. Hence "the revolt against the USSR." But the American "opportunity" is a mirage. Hence the disaffection for the US.

Seen from the angle of economics, theoretical and practical, the field of ideas and the field of interests overlap.

In theory the Russians are "materialists." They say they are Marxists. The Americans, at the other end, have been learning to reduce all factors of history and politics, which is history in the making, to one factor alone, which is the economic. They repudiate the goals of Marxism, but most of them adopt its method, which is the exclusively economic interpretation of history, made and in the making. They are, whether they know it or not, haunted by Marxism. In a great number of cases they have become, though they do not say they

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The March of Western Political Civilization

"All contemporary socio-political thought, white or red, western or eastern, came out of Europe in the thin strip of land from Florence through France and Rhineland to Cobden's as well as Engels' Manchester in the spare span of time from the Renaissance through England's republican monachy to the French and industrial revolutions."

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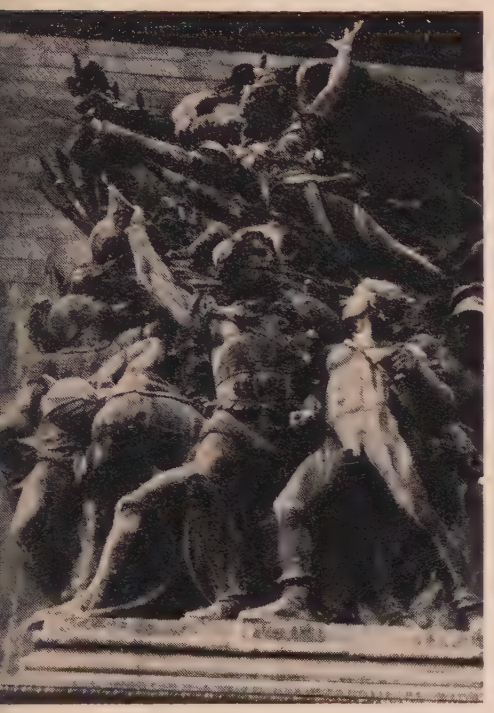
have, sub-Marxists.

After all, what the Russians are after is a bigger and better America of their own: with more and more technology for the production of more and more consumer goods. The two schemes are competitive on approximately the same plane. Stalin is to America what Peter the Great was to the Europe of his time.

To the embittered European who sees the East-West duel in such light, the two drives are two mutually conditioned waves, which meet in one vortex. The vortex is the Europe of his time. He does not like being in a vortex.



PARIS: Detail of the Arc de Triomphe

Pride, accented by frustration, reminds him that the European mind was not a technological laggard. It was, and is, in the technological vanguard. The path itself to the latest US accomplishment—atomic fission—which had been paved by Britons and Germans, Danes, Hungarians, and Italians, led from an equation of Einstein to an operation of Fermi. It is understandable that the European is not particularly eager to see the European-American accomplishment tested on the body of Europe.

Yet he is not so engrossingly captivated as is the American by the fixed idea of atomic control. Rotterdam and Dresden and many another place remind him that there is mass destruction (besides, incidentally, personal destruction) also through "conventional" weapons. New York and Chicago do not have such reminders. This explains the specialization of America's fear.

Understandably the European would be more interested in the control of all weapons, the absolute and the relative as well. He would be glad to get out of the vortex.

The Marshall Plan with all its derivates, up to Point Four and further, is fine. The fly in the ointment since the beginning was the notion that peace can be bought by dollars, and by dollars alone, particularly if the counterpart of the price implies the pledge from the payee to march to war should peace fail. The fly grew oversize when from the Marshall Plan came the Western Union.

With a naiveté bordering on thoughtlessness even top military leaders on the Western side of the Atlantic have disclosed to big audiences a World War III strategy in which the US would supply the airforce and bombers while the transatlantic allies would provide the bulk of the ground forces. The transatlantic ally is cynical or desperate enough to condense this picture into a scenario where America does the killing and Europe does the dying.

The promise of service in World War III is weakened by the record of more than one performance in World War II. Military defeat in our age is more disastrous than it ever was; but it is less humiliating than it was in the ages of chivalric honor and patriotism unalloyed. The Frenchman and the Italian might argue today in a conversational vein which of the two armies, all points being counted and all fronts being pooled, proved the less efficient in the last war.

As for the war to come, it was a French daily, *Le Monde*, anything but communist, which was the first to expatiate, the very day of the Russian explosion, on the hope that the atomic rivalry between the two outlying giants might result in neutrality and immunity for Europe.

As fission grew to fusion, uranium to hydrogen, this kind of talk became ever more current among intellectual leaders and political exponents. It reached a climax when another non-communist daily, *Paris-Presse*, went far enough to ask with commendable frankness whether it would not be advisable to play both cards at the same time: the one of military security with the US and the other of neutrality in the case of a conflict. Such attitudes should be watched with more attention and less indignation than our Atlantic-pacters deem fit; for it is not inhuman to look for a fire escape.

Can the Statesmen Deliver?

There is not the slightest doubt that the European statesmen in power are loyal. They acknowledge the American gift and loans with the definite, though appalled, intention of delivering the goods if the day comes. All is well, or nearly so, while the war is cold. Should the war turn hot the European response is anybody's guess. Yet it is sensible not to write off the possibility that the statesmen in power may become powerless without becoming faithless; that, the favor of the neutral masses having been secured to the higher bidder at a frantic auction, what had been the revolt against the USSR may settle into resignation, and the disaffection toward the US grow to revolt.

That his experience in Europe and his experience in America have been comprehensive enough to endow this writer with some insight into the mind of both, is the assumption on which he was invited to write these pages.

As an American, I have been observing with mounting concern through all these years the growing perplexity of the American mind at its crossroads; its resoluteness, one might say, in not resolving. The crux of the misunderstanding between America and her friends overseas is that the European, as well as the Asian and the denizen of any other continent, sees the force of America but misses its intent. The U. S. neither definitely wills world union, nor does she want world empire. If she were the planetary land grabber, subjugator of nations, as the Russians

depict her for their subjects and clients, many among the weary and helpless might rally; there might even be peace, of sorts. But nothing is more alien to America's temper than the emulation of Alexanders and Caesars; her legionaries, once done with the job of victory, are homesick. One fear among the many that beset the European is that one fine morning he may find that his ally has sailed, as she did in 1919, "sans adieux." There is a widespread feeling all over the world that all these webs of diplomacy and dollars, all these bristling arcs of bases and outposts, are there not to encircle and embrace the world, but to keep it at a distance, contriving an adequately enlarged vacuum within whose security America may find again the felicity of her long lost isolation.

We are aware of America's cross purposes which breed cross purposes abroad; but Europe shows an equal lack of clarity of mind.

We, in America are groping in the shadow of two-worldism, an anxiety neurosis; we in Europe—for we are one big, unhappy family—are stumbling in the spell of a European federal union, one more variant of self-contained continental isolationism, a fancy. A European federal union outside the frame of a world federal union is a thing of absurdity. A Europe without England is less than Europe; a Europe with England (and her Commonwealth) is more (and other) than Europe. There is no Europe without Germany, and there is no Germany until Bonn joins Berlin and Weimar or conversely; no Europe, for more cogent motives than those applying to England's Commonwealth, with or without French Africa plus Indochina; no Europe without Spain; no Europe, it seems awhile, with Franco Spain. What remains at the wind-up of the bootless errand are the schemes, all unfeasible, known under the uninspired labels of Fritalux (France plus Italy plus Benelux) or Finebel (the same though sounding prettier) or Uniscan (the United Kingdom and Scandinavia in one can): unworthy pun reflecting aptly the worthlessness of the concepts.

Europe is not, and will not long be, a third force. She might be a third idea—another kind of force. If she could outgrow this new-fangled futility of a regional nationalism, European union *per se*, if she could think of her survival and revival in terms of world union, her motion might hasten the day for the faith and will of America, which are far from extinct, to break through this crust of anger and fear into creative leadership. The disaffection of today would change into the warmth of one mutual purpose.

As all Psalms end in glory, so must whatever I write end on a world note. This does not make of me a fanatic. The boldest of my sayings is "world government is necessary, therefore it is possible." It does not say: "therefore it is a-poppin'."

Borgese on America

Long one of the leaders of Italian opposition to Fascism, G. A. Borgese came to the US in 1931. He had previously held professorships of literature, aesthetics and criticism at the Universities of Rome and Milan. In the US, he has held posts as Professor of Italian culture and comparative literature at the University of California, Smith College and the University of Chicago. He is secretary of the Committee to Frame a World Constitution and author of *Goliath, the March of Fascism* and *Common Cause.*

The soul of America:

"The soul of America is not in her raw materials—storehouses of which lie beneath other surfaces—near and far; heaps of which crucibles and cyclotrons will manufacture above the earth where they cannot be dug out from beneath it. It is not in production—which as soon as world peace is established, will crowd the assembly lines everywhere in the world. Nor is it in skill, which the unskilled are learning. The soul of America is in her mysticism of liberty. Without self-destruction she could not disown her soul. Injustices she may have blinked at; misdemeanors against her principles she may have occulted or acquitted within her own borders; but there is a difference between such transient limited obfuscations and a full-dress appearance on the stage of history in the role that was of Metternich's Austria, as the extinguisher of liberty."

The US Presidency:

"The difference between America and Britain is in the whiteness of the White House. No President of the U.S. . . . could ever have allowed himself to speak or write in favor of Fascism or Nazism as Chamberlain and Churchill did. . . . In an unbroken tradition interlocking three centuries, the president of the U.S. has been a temporal ruler and a spiritual leader as well. An elective prince for a definite term, he is also an elective pontiff of limited tenure—the guardian of a doctrine which he must transmit as unsullied to his successors as he received it from a lineage rooted in the progressive religion and in the universal hope of the XVIIIth Century. Popes, even when simoniac or libertine, never abjured ex cathedra *the sanctity of the Christian teaching; nor did American presidents ever disown the message of America to Man. Shadows of rulers whose personal omissions and commissions could have made them unworthy of so uplifted a dignity may have passed—not frequently—through a White House. The brightness of those walls, . . . shines forth."*

By ROBERT PAYNE

The following personality study was prepared on the basis of personal conversations with Mao Tse-tung, his advisers and friends, and offers little-known information and invaluable insight into the character, psychology and intellectual attitudes of the leader of Communist China.

The most significant parts of the article reveal Mao's view of his own princely role, his deep reverence for Stalin, and his elevation, as a new and outstanding theorist, to a commanding position in the Soviet states.

At 39, Robert Payne, author of *Sun Yat-sen, China Awake,* and *The Revolt of Asia,* is considered as the foremost expert on China of his generation. His latest book, *Zero—The History of Terror,* has just been published by John Day.

A Man Called Mao

IN OUR own age no man has reached power so quickly or so dramatically as Mao Tse-tung. Two years ago he was in hiding among the Shensi hills. Today, if he is not already the undisputed master of China, he is closer to this distinction than anyone since the decline of the Ming Dynasty. Already he has become a legend, and through the mist of legends it is becoming increasingly difficult to see the man underneath, and yet, at no time was there so great a necessity to understand him and come to grips with him. Who is he? Why did his armies conquer China in a single year? At what fountains has he fed? These are questions of considerable importance in an age when Communist China represents nearly a fourth of the world's population.

Who is he? The answer is not simple. Hsiao San, his boyhood friend, told me that even as a youth Mao Tse-tung possessed an amazing complexity of purpose. He was like quicksilver, impossible to nail him down. Even at the age of fifteen he was the scholar predisposed to silent contemplation and the revolutionary, throwing himself into violent action, a man wedded to opposites.

He was continually composing poetry and drawing up revolutionary techniques. In the library at Changsha he would spend a whole day immersed in the late Ching Dynasty novel called *The Dream of the Red Chamber*; the next day he was deep in Sun Wu, the great Chinese military thinker of ancient times, whose theory of strategy influenced both the Communists and the Kuomintang in their long war against one another. But in fact the complexities in Mao's youthful character are characteristics of the Hunanese, and he was not alone in being the scholar-revolutionary. There were

A Man Called Mao *continued*

hundreds of others and there existed a whole Hunanese tradition which demanded of men that they should possess the qualities of the soldier and the *literatus* at the same time. Tseng Kuo-fang, the great Ching Dynasty general who was finally responsible for the overthrow of the Taipings, belonged to this tradition, and so too did Chu Kiu-tao, the Hunanese military genius who organized the Taiping armies against the Manchus, and whose rules for the army were remarkably similar to the rules Mao announced for his own Communist armies.

The Chinese Communists have their roots in Hunan. A quite extraordinary number of generals, soldiers and political leaders come from this province of red hills, green lakes and blue rivers; and in his general features, in his attitudes to the world, in his strange mixture of violence and gentleness, Mao follows a type which has been in existence on the Chinese stage for many centuries.

It is important that we should recognize the peculiar Hunanese qualities he possesses, for the secret lies probably here. Hunan belongs neither to the north or to the south of China. It is a province which to some extent must always defy the traditions of the north and the south. Here, more than anywhere else in China, men have hammered out a way of life which owes little to the other provinces. The marshes and the lakes have been a refuge for the peasants against the exactions of the central government; and it is significant that almost at the same time that the Chinese Communist Party was being organized in Shanghai in 1921, there occurred in Hunan a widespread anarchist revolt against the government.

Anarchism lies close to the Hunanese mind; and Mao himself at one time contemplated an anarchist revolution which would embrace the whole of China. But there is a sense of rigor in the Hunanese spirit which defies anarchism, and the Hunanese tends towards a conservative Confucianism, and the elaboration of rituals.

How deeply Mao became involved in Confucianism becomes clear when we study his writings, for his style is resolutely based on the style of Han Yu, the most Confucian of poets; and when he left Peking in 1921 to assist in the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai, he made a pilgrimage to Confucius' tomb in Shantung, and though he spoke about the pilgrimage later as if he regarded it as a waste of time, it is almost certain that he was half-consciously following the classic command to pray at the shrine before assuming a grave role in history. Had not Confucius said that the Emperor may be dethroned when he no longer obeys the injunctions of Heaven? There were Confucian precepts which could be taken over bodily by the Chinese Communists, for no one has ever been certain whether Confucius represented the feudalism of his time, or those who opposed feudalism.

Mao's sense of an orderly universe, of simple dogmatic solutions to complex questions, his quiet insistence on his own princely role in the revolutionary awakening of China — all these may, and probably do, stem from his early study of Confucian writings.

It is not generally known that Chiang Kai-shek regards himself as a lineal descendant of Duke Wen of the Chou Dynasty, who not only founded the dynasty but edited the *Book of Changes*, a book which was later introduced into the Confucian canon. Chiang Kai-shek's belief in his princely ancestry is almost certainly one of the factors which brought about his downfall. Proud and intolerant, conscious of belonging to a family even more ancient and honorable than that of his brother-in-law, H. H. Kung, who claimed descent from Confucius, he was apt to treat people with a contempt which he took no pains to hide.

When Mao Tse-tung flew to Chungking in 1945, Chiang Kai-shek's intolerance and contempt remained, clouding all the issues which followed between the central government and the Communists in Yenan. "He treated me like a peasant," Mao complained.

It was probably the gravest mistake Chiang Kai-shek had ever made. Incapable of understanding his opponent, capable only of hating him, Chiang Kai-shek allowed an aristocratic hatred to blind him to the resources of his enemy. He always under-estimated Mao, and he continued to under-estimate Mao until it was too late. In a very real sense the pattern of the Chinese civil war followed the pattern of Greek tragedy: nemesis overtook the proud man, and completely destroyed him. In the end it was Mao's humility or apparent humility which endeared him to the people—even when he was young, he was nicknamed "the wise old peasant" —and Chiang's overwhelming pride which made people increasingly distrust him.

These conceptions of pride and humility must be faced. In China, where personal relations acquire a complexity unknown to the west, the struggle between Mao and Chiang was essentially a personal struggle, but at the same time it was a struggle between two opposed facets of the Chinese mind. Chiang, in spite of his Confucianism and Methodism, remained to the end an anarchist, an opportunist, without principles, his faith in himself and his ancestry being the most powerful motivating forces.

Mao, with far greater subtlety of mind, a pure scholar and an excellent poet, found his resources in Confucianism and in a theory of revolution which derived partly from the Confucian classics and partly from the Marxist theory of the class-struggle.

STALIN'S 70TH BIRTHDAY W

Chiang never understood the peasants and never made advances towards them; Mao did understand them, because he came from them, and he was under no illusion about his ancestry. Yet he was not humble in any ordinary sense. He had modeled himself on the Confucian hero, who is scholar and man of action at the same time; and from his youth he had said very simply, and with a full consciousness of what he was about: "I shall overthrow the dynasty."

All the way through our relations with the Chinese Communists we have under-estimated the immense intellectual power of Mao Tse-tung. Today he represents a greater threat to America than Stalin, for he possesses intellectual gifts of which Stalin must always be unaware. There is little mystery about him. The outlines of the Chinese scholar-soldier are unusually clear cut. But there is mystery in the way which he was able to make himself, at the age of thirty-three, the Chairman of the Communist Party in Kiangsi with control over the largest Communist armies then existing in China. His qualifications were numerous, but they were surprisingly varied. Like T. E. Lawrence, he had learned his military strategy largely from books. At school in Changsha he had led an attack against the provincial soldiers who attempted to take over the school-buildings; but though his plan of attack showed daring, it did not suggest the future military commander.

After his school-days there followed a period of intense poverty spent largely in the industrial city of Wuhan. It was during this period that he learned most. He still read omnivorously, but he was beginning to come into contact with the industrial proletariat. For a while he contemplated becoming a laborer in a soap-factory: there may have been some echo of this experience when, having assumed supreme power in Peking, he gave orders that the Street of the Antiquaries, where the most fragile jades were carved, should immediately give place to the manufacture of soap.

He made little impression on Wuhan, and decided to enter Peking University. Too poor to pay the fees, he became an assistant librarian in the Department of Literature, where he met the great scholar Chen Tu-hsiu, then in the process of breaking down the whole Confucian ethic on which Chinese civilization reposed.

Chen Tu-hsiu was by far the most important influence on Mao's life. "There was a fire in his eyes," Chen Tu-hsiu said later. "He was completely different from all my other students, for he really cared about the new civilization of China we were trying to introduce. Also, and this was very much to our advantage, he wrote with complete conviction and possessed a perfect mastery of style."

Under various pseudonyms Mao Tse-tung wrote a number of articles for Chen Tu-hsiu's magazine *La Jeunesse*. He knew the dispossessed students of Peking University, most of them poor, many of them rickshaw pullers in their spare time, nearly all of them at that time close to destitution. He came to know the intellectuals, who were also suffering from a heart-rending poverty and whose minds in the year 1921 were sharpened by the defeat of China as a result of the war, for though China had come out on the side of the Allies, strategic centers in Shantung had been awarded at Versailles to the Japanese.

Bitterness was deep: it was especially deep against America, because the Chinese felt that the Americans had possessed a privileged position at Versailles and were ultimately responsible for the offer to Japan: and America's inexplicable disinterest in China's recovery was commented upon at length in the magazines and broadsides which began to be issued in increasing numbers from Peking. The seeds of the American catastrophe in 1949 were sown nearly thirty years earlier.

By the time he was twenty-seven Mao had matured. People who knew him when he was still a librarian at Peking University remember a man who was tall and thin, with a cowwebby black beard, with the hunched shoulders of the proverbial scholar. "He read," one professor of Peking University told me, "as though he felt there would be long intervals in his life when reading would be impossible, as though he was catching up for lost time."

He still reads as he read in the library at Changsha: one day he would read about ancient Chinese political theory, the next day he would be reading the novel *All Men Are Brothers*, the third day might be devoted to newspapers.

At Peking in those early days he had little work to do in the library. He was given a salary, but the salary was hardly enough to live on. It was the time of the warlords. But when he left Peking for Shanghai, he seemed to know already that he possessed a

CELEBRATED LAST DECEMBER 21 BY MAO (FOURTH FROM LEFT) AND THE SOVIET HIGH COMMAND IN MOSCOW

weapon which would destroy the feudal regime, and people who knew him remarked that he was always authoritative, but his authority was more manifest than ever in Shanghai: he was coming into his own.

Shanghai was the center of his operations for a year. He was not wholly at ease there. He never came to speak the Shantung dialect. He was always happiest, he said afterwards, among the Hunanese peasants. But the problem of the industrial proletariat was beginning to assume an increasing importance in China, and he realized that as a Communist, he would have to deal with the problem in a Communist way. He had been student, scholar, editor, librarian and wanderer; he knew the peasants, the students, the intellectuals, and now he learned something, though perhaps not enough, about the workers.

Mao's understanding the workers comes from his struggling days in the industrial city of Wuhan and his brief political activity in Shanghai. Today he insists that the Chinese industrial proletariat can be impressed into disciplined revolutionary cadres.

However that may be, after a year in Shanghai, Mao felt that the period of apprenticeship was over; now it was time for action.

Poet Among Peasants

During the following years he traveled over Hunan, organizing the peasants. Wearing a sun helmet, a dirty white suit and carrying a stick, he wandered alone from village to village, in the uniform of a poor landlord or a land surveyor. He was continually changing his name, and for long periods he slept by day and visited the villages by night. Hsiao San says that he carried no luggage except a tattered copy of the novel *All Men Are Brothers,* that enormously long novel which has been beautifully translated into English by Pearl Buck.

Of all the books which have influenced Mao, it is probably the one which is closest to him, for the 108 robber chieftains who take part in the fantastic adventures in the novel supplied him with a wealth of strategic and tactical ideas about outwitting opponents, which he could have gained from no other source. At the same time, the three major heroes have a peculiarly close resemblance to Mao, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai, so that it is almost as though the Communist triumvirate had modeled itself on the characters of the novel.

Mao immersed himself among the peasants, turning his back on the industrial proletariat, compiling an enormous sociological survey among the Hunanese peasants. The results of the survey proved conclusively that the peasants were ripe for rebellion.

A Political Comet

When the survey was brought to the attention of Hu Han-min, the chief theoretician of the Kuomintang, Mao's prestige grew, and within six months he became Hu Han-min's secretary, a position which allowed him to burrow into the Kuomintang headquarters and even to assume much of Hu Han-min's power. He became editor of the Kuomintang private newspaper, which was circulated among the party officials. He was thirty-three, and if he had wanted to, he could have reached out for the highest honors and the highest positions in the Kuomintang Party. But with Sun Yat-sen's death the whole party fell into disunity until Chiang Kai-shek brought the army under his control and launched the March to the North. Mao organized the peasants to assist the revolutionary Kuomintang armies. He had previously organized them into trade unions; now he began to organize them into a fighting force. But the March to the North, which might have brought together a completely united China, failed in its purpose when the right wing of the Kuomintang assumed power after the massacre in Shanghai; and once again Mao found himself in the desert, a lonely wanderer in a white sun helmet walking among the fields of Kiangsi, a province he knew hardly at all.

But it is here, too, in a province where all the customs were strange to him, that he built the foundations for his own revolutionary army. The rest is known history, and most of it has been recounted in Edgar Snow's capable book, *Red Star Over China.* The Long March, in which he nearly died, and the long thread-like columns advancing in a serpentine fashion through nine provinces to reach Yenan, arriving at different times and from different directions, have been described often enough, but it is significant that even among those who led the march the event has become legend, almost impossible to believe, and Mao will talk of it as though it happened to someone else, at another time and another place, as though in fact it had occurred during the time of endless campaigns at the end of the Han Dynasty.

Edgar Snow's account of the Long March, however brilliant, is not wholly accurate. He emphasized a unity of command where unity of command was impossible; there was not one single column moving under the direction of Lin Piao, Peng Teh-huei, Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung. There were at least nine columns under different leaders, and three of them were lost and never heard of again. Nor was Edgar Snow entirely accurate in his portrait of Mao. By emphasizing the earthiness of the man, he offered a portrait of the peasant revolutionary, a man who thought nothing of taking off his trousers on a hot day, and possessed all the rough edges which we associate with the revolutionary who carries a bomb in his pocket, forgetting that Mao belongs to the tradition of the scholar-soldier and has trained himself to an intellectual eminence rare among politicians.

It is precisely here that the danger lies. We tend to under-estimate our opponents; and we under-estimate the subtlety of Mao at our extreme danger. He belongs to the new type of Asiatic leader, of whom Nehru and Shjahrir are others, who combine an extraordinary penetration and understanding of theoretical forces with a sense of reality, of a real world inhabited by real people who behave in real ways. Marianne Moore tells somewhere the story of imaginary

toads in real gardens; and those who have studied the American defeat in China may find themselves wondering whether Americans have not seen imaginary forces at work in the real China they know.

The dramatic conquest of China in a single year came to the Americans with complete unexpectedness. It is difficult to know why. It should have been clear that the Kuomintang armies were in a state of dissolution, if only because there was no thread which joined the common soldier to the military command, nor did the Kuomintang possess a single idea worth fighting for.

Mao had at least one dominant idea: the peasants shall come into their own. It was an idea which was probably impractical, but the peasants, who constitute 85% of the Chinese population, were not to be dissuaded; and if the *Communist Manifesto* poured scorn, as it did, on the peasantry, Mao could reply, as he did, that he was a Marxist up to the moment when the situation demanded that Marxism should be abandoned; and this single phrase, repeated through all his writings, suggests the vision of the man and at the same time it reinforces his perpetual dependence upon the theory of the class-struggle.

Today, Mao Tse-tung possesses more power over more people than anyone has ever possessed. He walks along a tight-rope. It is a dangerous eminence, and few Chinese rulers have survived intact in the heady air of the heights. The complexities of the Chinese scene may in the end confound him. He knows the peasants of Shensi, Hunan and Kiangsi; he has traveled over the length and breadth of China; he still remains remarkably ignorant of the world outside. He has few advisers on international politics he can trust, and the Chinese Communists from the beginning have found difficulty in managing the problems of industry. It is possible, and he is very conscious of the possibility, that the problems of small agrarian communities are totally different from the problems involved in inaugurating a new state.

One thing is certain. China cannot exist without American trade, and one of the greatest tests of his policy will occur at the moment when it becomes physically possible to open the east coast of China to American traders.

Mao is no Tito. There is no reason to believe that in Stalin's lifetime he will jettison his association with the Cominform.

His dependence upon Stalin as a theorist is not to be doubted. Very clearly the visit to Moscow was primarily for the purpose of ideological discussions on the highest levels, and these discussions involved problems far more significant than the treaty between China and Soviet Russia.

Mao-Stalin "Duarchy"

International Communism henceforth must move between the two poles represented by Mao and Stalin. A new and brilliant theorist now assumes his place in the government of the Soviet states; and it is extremely probable that Mao's dialectic approach to problems will not always run together with Stalin's approach. The possibility of divergence, however, should not be assumed. Outwardly there will be none. Within the party councils there may be many minor conflicts, but over-riding all these possibilities of conflict is Mao's basic loyalty to the Communist thesis: against this we shall raise our voices in vain.

The proper American attitude to this gigantic *entente* embracing Russia and China should surely be first, a continual effort of comprehension on our part, and secondly, by placing more emphasis on our own democracy and our own freedoms, we should make certain that our foundations are at least more valid than theirs.

Stoop-shouldered, sunburned, with a high-pitched voice and the manners of a Chinese scholar, looking every day more and more like the portraits of Sun Yat-sen taken in his old age, Mao Tse-tung is a portent of the future. There will be other Asiatic leaders like him, with the same delicacy and the same forthrightness, the same hard determination to bring Asia into its place in the sun.

It is not enough that we should wonder at his military campaigns. It is necessary that we should know the books he reads and admires, the particular literary landscape in which he travels; and perhaps it would be a good beginning if everyone interested in the future of China began reading the novel *All Men Are Brothers* and studying the remarkable essays Mao wrote recently on the art of modern war. His acknowledged debt to Tolstoy and to the early Chinese ballad-singers should not be minimized. His poems should be read. He is not simply a political figure; he is the novelist whose novel has come astonishingly true, or a poet whose words have suddenly become people. Like the ancient *skops*, he stands at the beginning of a new era, announcing the future. It would be a pity if, immersed in our own dangerous thoughts of the future, we should ever for a moment minimize the extraordinary power wielded by this man who has the sensitivity of a poet and the intransigeance of the Chinese Emperors.

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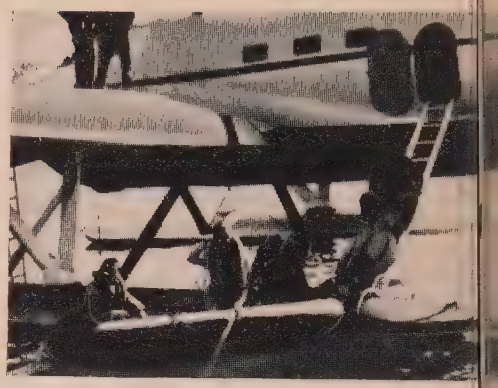
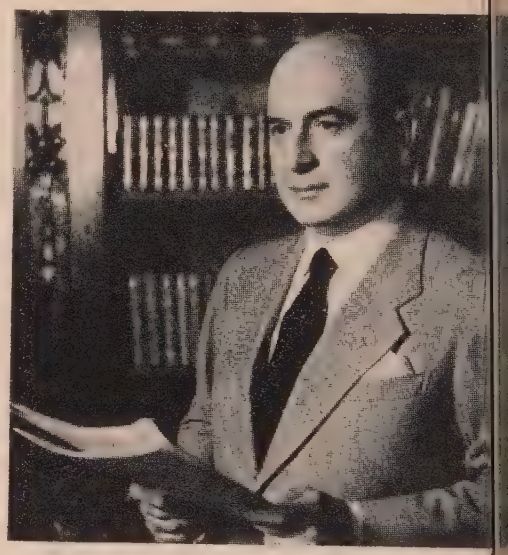




By EDWIN MULLER

Family Doctor of The Seven

THE tanker *Saguaro*, bound for Göteborg, Sweden, from Caracas, was half way across the Caribbean when a strange cloud appeared to starboard. It came nearer, rolling and twisting, low down on the surface of the sea, and was upon the ship before the crew realized what it was.

Butterflies—millions of them. Soon the ship was covered with the creeping masses. Nearly all the crew had run up on deck. The creatures settled on them, clinging and crawling, brushing them with their silky wings.

Then the breeze freshened, and the swarm flew off.

That night, man after man of the crew was afflicted by a rash, then an intolerable itching. By morning they had big blisters, raw spreading sores and fever.

Like most of the tankers and cargo ships, the *Saguaro* had no doctor on board. It's hard for us who live within quick reach of medical help to realize what that means. A ship limited to seven or eight knots an hour can be many days away from help.

For the *Saguaro* this might be serious. It was a question of how long the ship could be operated. But the captain knew what to do. "I'll get hold of Doctor Guida." Soon the

radio man was clicking out the message telling about the butterflies and detailing the symptoms to Doctor Guido Guida, 4000 miles away in his office in the Via Torino in Rome.

The doctor thought for a moment, then phoned Doctor Alessandro Dubunisky Van Eyck, authority on tropical diseases, who came right around. He studied the message, nodded. Yes, he knew the species, a butterfly that carries a poisonous dust on its wings. Undoubtedly these had come from the Venezuelan jungles. And he knew the remedy, one that he had used in Java and Sumatra.

Soon the doctors were in direct radio communication with the *Saguaro*. Luckily the ingredients of the remedy were to be found in any ship's medical chest: oil, alcohol, talc. Brush lightly over the body. Repeat often.

For several days Dr. Guida kept in touch with his patients. They all improved rapidly. Long before they sighted Göteborg all were fit again.

Dr. Guida, 50-odd, a little bald and stout, looks like a successful specialist, tied to his city desk by a good practice. In fact that's what he is—an ear, nose and throat specialist. This medical service to ships is just a hobby with him and his group. One for which they are not paid a cent.

They call themselves the International Radio Medical Institute. But the Institute has no employes, paid or

Seas

unpaid. In fact it's just Dr. Guida's office—which differs in no way from any doctor's office except that it contains a powerful sending and receiving set given to him by the Italian Navy.

The Navy also furnishes the part-time service of a naval radio man, and the facilities of Radio Rome, its central station. When a ship—one that knows of the Institute's service —needs medical help it sends out the code call, MEDRAD—CIRM. That call has priority over any other except SOS. Someone is at Dr. Guida's office to receive emergency calls at any time of day or night. So far the Institute is able to handle only messages in Italian, English or French.

From the details given him, Dr. Guida tries to diagnose the case or he calls one of the 40 Roman specialists in his group who seems best fitted to prescribe treatment, either by direct transmission from the office or via Radio Rome. These doctors all know the medical supplies required by the law of each nation to be carried by its ships. They follow up the case, keeping a clinical record, until the patient is well or until he is ashore and in competent hands.

Last year Dr. Guida handled 200 cases, involving 1500 communications. On a recent typical day when I was in his office, four cases were being treated:

On an Italian ship outward bound for Aruba an engine room explosion had hurled a jagged piece of iron into a man's neck, causing loss of a lot of blood. Dr. Guida got a surgeon to the Radio transmitter very quickly. He told the captain exactly how the pad and bandages should be adjusted. Penicillin, of course, and an anti-tetanus injection.

There was a typhoid case on a ship of Panama registry heading into the Persian Gulf. The man had run a high temperature but *aureomycin*, given at Dr. Guida's direction, had brought it down and the fever chart now showed a fairly satisfactory condition. Day after tomorrow he would be taken off at Basra and hospitalized.

On an Italian freighter bound from Genoa to London one of the engineers seemed to have hallucinations, carried on long conversations with non-existent people, was sullen and suspicious of his ship-mates. Suddenly he became violent, attacked some of the crew with an iron bar. He was overpowered, then the captain asked Dr. Guida what to do.

The doctor advised how the man could be immobilized without injury to himself or others. At Guida's direction he was tied in his bunk with plenty of cotton wool to pad the cords. Then a strong sedative.

The last case had just come in—there hadn't been time to diagnose it. On a vessel rounding the Cape of Good Hope the first engineer had begun spitting blood, running a fever. The doctor had them put ice bags on his chest, give him chlorate of calcium as a blood coagulating agent. Dr. Guida seemed rather concerned about this case, thought he might have to advise the captain to put into Capetown.

That's a problem that comes up again and again: whether a case is serious enough to justify the captain in changing course and putting into port. That may cost the owners thousands of dollars. It can't be done for every stomach ache. On the other hand the man's life may be at stake. It's a decision which most captains are very glad to pass on to Dr. Guida.

For example, an Italian freighter, off the Azores, bound from Southampton to the Gulf of Mexico. One of the crew reported badly swollen ankles. The captain called in Dr. Guida. Should he change course, put into Santa Maria?

Now this kind of swelling might be kidney trouble. On the other hand it's a common symptom of a serious heart condition, one that requires emergency treatment.

Dr. Guida decided to make a urine analysis. He directed the captain to take a specimen, put it in a test tube, bring it to a boil. Then add a few drops of acetic acid, which every medical chest contains.

The specimen became cloudy. Albumen. Dr. Guida was satisfied that it was kidneys. He had the man put to bed, given a meatless and saltless diet, diuretics and measures to induce sweating.

It would be all right, he told the captain, to continue on his course to the Gulf. But the doctor would keep in close touch with the case.

If a ship in or near the Mediterranean has an emergency case, the Italian Navy, at Dr. Guida's request, will send a plane to take the patient off. But sometimes it's impossible to escape the necessity of doing an operation by remote control:

A freighter, half way across the

South Atlantic, Dakar to Rio. The radio man cut his heel. Five days later an abscess developed under the knee. The captain gave him penicillin but the abscess got worse. There was rising fever.

Dr. Guida saw at once that there was immediate danger of a general sepsis, a fatal blood poisoning. The abscess must be operated upon quickly. By radio the captain hunted desperately through that part of the ocean for a ship with a doctor on board. There was none.

So Dr. Guida got one of his surgeons to the radio. The patient gave his consent to the operation—as required by law. The surgeon gave minute instructions as to sterilization. Then he told precisely how the lancet should be held by the captain, the direction it should take, then how to drain the pus.

There was great relief in Rome when the patient's temperature fell and steady improvement began.

The Sick Just Suffered

Guido Guida's concern for the well-being of the men who spend their lives on the lonely ocean goes back to his childhood. His father was a ship owner of Trapani, Sicily. His older brother was a ship's captain. Guido grew up on sea stories.

Often they were grim stories. In those days, before radio, a ship was cut off sometimes for months at a time from any contact with shore. The law of most nations, then as now, requires a doctor only on ships carrying 20 passengers or a total of more than 50 persons. So most ships had no doctor. As a rule a sick man just had to lie and suffer—until he died or reached port.

Guida had a boy's hero worship for his great countryman, Guglielmo Marconi, who did more than any other to develop wireless. And what wireless meant to Guida was the chance to relieve the suffering of men at sea.

It was a long time before he could do anything about it. He wanted to be a doctor but because of family reverses he had to earn most of his way through college and medical school. He wanted to establish himself as a specialist in Rome. But he had no influential connections there—and those are needed by a young doctor even more in Italy than in the United States.

By 1935, however, he was an associate professor in the medical school, a director of a hospital, an authority in his profession.

In 1935 he got together a group of doctor friends, explained his ideas of a medical service to ships at sea. They agreed to donate their services as he himself was doing. The Queen of Italy became honorary president of the Institute. The Navy undertook operation and expense of radio communication with ships at sea. Today not many hospitals have a group of physicians and specialists as complete and competent as the 40 who work with Dr. Guida.

Dr. Guida sent a notice to steamship lines explaining his service. Later he prepared and distributed to ships' captains a radio medical manual. It listed all the drugs in common use, their ordinary doses, and how administered. It included a medical chart of the human body. Use of the manual enabled ships' captains to give a precise description of symptoms and to understand the instructions given for treatment.

Dr. Guida's ocean practice grew like any other medical practice—by one ship telling another about it. Each year more ships came to look upon him as their family doctor. At first most of his patients were Italian ships. Later there were ships of French- and English-speaking nations.

Doctors on the Air

The war interrupted the service, because ships at sea weren't allowed to use their radios. Since the war, Dr. Guida has started what he calls his out-patients clinic. Every evening from 8 to 10, Rome time (7 to 9 G.M.T.) he, or one of his group, is on the air, talking to ships at sea. First, instructions to current patients. Then general instructions: talks on hygiene at sea, on new developments in first aid, etc. And always detailed instructions as to how to use the manual, how to report symptoms.

Dr. Guida doesn't claim too much for his long-range diagnosis and treatment, yet in 15 years he and his group seem to have developed an uncanny knack. Last year, out of 200 patients treated, only one died—a stoker with a cerebral hemorrhage. He'd probably have died if he'd been in a hospital, with a doctor at hand.

The United States, Great Britain and other seafaring nations have radio medical service for ships at sea, but it isn't the same kind of personal, family-doctor sort of care that Dr. Guida gives. As a rule, other services work this way: A request for medical aid from a ship off the North American coast is picked up by a coastal radio station, which passes it on to the nearest hospital, to be answered by a doctor on duty there.

There are several drawbacks to the system. The doctor may not understand the language in which the request comes. Also, as hospital doctors alternate on duty, no one doctor follows through on the case. It once happened that a patient at sea got four different sets of advice from four successive doctors. And not all doctors have Guida's knack of diagnosing at long range.

Dr. Guida believes that in different parts of the world there should be other groups like his own, trained in the technique of diagnosing and treating by radio. That there should be an international agreement and system by which any case of illness, anywhere on the globe, could be quickly routed to the group best fitted to serve it; and that the medical chests of the ships of all nations should be standardized. He is trying to bring these things to pass.

Meanwhile, he is working to improve his own technique of long-range diagnosis. For example, he is now perfecting a method of taking a long-distance cardiograph by radio. The next few years may see great advances in long-range diagnosis and treatment. The sea is no longer a desolate and hopeless place for the sick and wounded. The family doctor is always within call.

The dollar gap is a danger not only to the Marshall Plan countries but to the entire economy of the United States. Before we can close it we must face up to the three dilemmas that corrupt our thinking and acting about the dollar and its position in the world market.

Whose Headache Is The Dollar?

By MARRINER S. ECCLES
Member, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System

All the crucial challenging issues of international economic policy are parts of an over-all question commonly called "the dollar problem." The so-called "dollar shortage" is certainly a "dollar problem." But, just as certainly, to maintain US export markets, and to protect them against discrimination, are "dollar problems." The adjustments arising from the need to recognize the United States as a creditor nation are likewise "dollar problems," as are those faced in having US private investments abroad show a profit, and reactivating the flow of US private investment overseas. In the same category belong efforts to attain "full convertibility of currencies" and the ways of implementing the President's "Point 4."

Everyone will agree, therefore, that there is in fact a "dollar problem." But I am not at all sure that everyone will agree on *whose* problem it is. It is certainly in some part a European problem, in the sense that the economic policies actually pursued by the Europeans will either quicken or impede solution. But I fear that not enough of my countrymen realize to what a large extent the "dollar problem" is an American problem.

If there is one lesson that should have stood out from our experience with the debts of the first World War, it was that the payment of international debts involves the shipment of *goods* from the debtor countries to the creditor country; that the importation of these goods on a large scale would inevitably have involved serious adjustments in the American economy; and that therefore the problem of inter-governmental indebtedness after the first World War was more of an American problem than it was a European problem.

In precisely the same way, the present "dollar problem" is more of an American problem than it is a European problem. As far as the economic policy of the United States is concerned, the "dollar problem" is really a dollar dilemma. This dilemma must be resolved by firm decisions as to the direction in which we really intend to move. To carry out these decisions will bring consequences that will be unpalatable to some sections of the American public. And nothing short of the greatest vision and courage on the part of our leaders can give assurance that the road actually followed will be the road of true national advantage to the United States.

Consider, for example, the problem of the so-called "dollar shortage." In its immediate aspect, this problem is reflected in a dollar "gap"—amounting to something over four billion dollars—between the imports of the OEEC participating countries from the dollar area, and the exports of those countries to the dollar area. This "gap" is being covered, for the most part, by ERP aid from the United States Government.

Discussions of the "dollar shortage" rarely assume that the United States will continue indefinitely to

Whose Headache Is The Dollar? *continued*

cover the dollar gap by the free grant to European nations of money contributed by US taxpayers. On the contrary, they usually begin by assuming that by 1952 (the date set for the ending of ERP) the gap will somehow have been closed — or at least made "manageable"—so that US taxpayers will no longer have to shoulder the burden. But in fact most of these discussions assume, further, that the closing of the dollar gap is entirely a European problem, in the sense that success or failure in closing the gap will depend entirely on the Europeans themselves, and that any disturbances or burdens will affect only the European economy and taxpayer.

The first dollar dilemma is summarized by the clear inconsistency which characterizes US economic policy as it now stands. In the international field, we preach the doctrine of free economy. But in the domestic field we follow practices which completely contradict the very concept of a free economy.

The second dilemma is presented by the collision between the desire to increase imports to close the dollar gap, and the desire, on the other hand, to avoid serious inconvenience to any part of the US domestic economy that might result from increasing imports.

The third dilemma is presented by the relation between the desire to maintain our export markets and the desire, on the other hand, to keep down imports and bring US foreign aid to a speedy end.

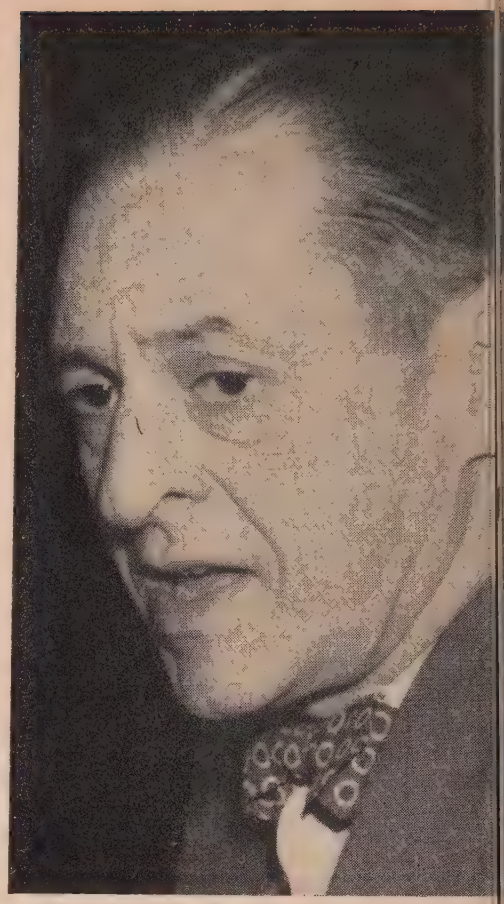
Consider the inconsistency between our preachment and our practice in the field of economic policy generally. The United States is urging the European countries to abandon quantitative restrictions on imports from each other. But at the very same time, the United States Government totally prohibits the importation into the United States of butter, oleomargarine, cottonseed oil, linseed oil, soy bean oil, soy beans, flaxseed, lard, peanuts, peanut butter, peanut oil, sunflower seed, sunflower oil, tallow, and rice. It admits olive oil, rice products, and soap only in limited quantities. It subjects imports of cotton, rice, and sugar to annual quotas of the same type as that to which the United States has objected when such quotas have been imposed by European countries.

These examples of restrictionism are not confined to agriculture. It would be easy to point to examples of the same type of restrictionism in the industrial field, ranging from high tariffs on particular industrial goods (amounting in some cases to over 100 per cent) to the provision in American law which stipulates that repairs to American ships carried out abroad shall be taxed at the rate of 50 per cent when the vessel returns to the United States, unless it can be proved that the vessel was so badly damaged as to be unable to return without such repairs.

Nor is this all. Behind this practice of restricting imports, is a broader philosophy of propping up the domestic economy wherever our "free economy" begins to offer inconveniences to the business and agricultural interests or the labor involved.

Is a particular firm having financial difficulties? If we really had the faith in the "free economy" that we profess, we would ask immediately whether there is any reason why the firm should not be allowed to go out of business, its capital being written off. and the labor transferred to other industries. Instead, we are ready to pervert the meaning of "full employment" to signify a guarantee that all firms now in existence and every worker employed by those firms must be kept doing what they are now doing.

This is why, in the financial field, we are faced by demands that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation should prop up the "victims" of free economy, why we have been led into a program of agricultural support prices, why we have come to tolerate the growth of labor monopolies whose practices, if continued, will result in a complete rigidity of the price of labor, with all that this may mean in the way of a rigidity in the prices



MARRINER S. ECCLES

of the goods which labor produces.

I submit that if a solution of the dollar dilemma is to be found in the extension of the free economy internationally, we should ask ourselves how we propose to reconcile our international preachments with our domestic practices.

Consider, now, the second of the dilemmas contained in proposed solutions of the "dollar problem." What would be the consequences of closing the dollar gap by a reduction of existing US tariffs or quotas sufficient to assure a very rapid increase in imports into the United States in the next two years? For some, the problem is supposed to be solved by calculations designed to demonstrate that the total volume of such imports would bear so small a proportion to the total of US production that we need not be seriously concerned about the resulting disturbances to the American economy "taken as a whole." I do not quarrel with the accuracy of such calculations. My quarrel is with the conclusion that is too often drawn from the calcula-

tions: namely, that they are sufficient, in and of themselves, to demonstrate that no dilemma of national policy is involved.

For it should be clear that a discussion of the effects of large-scale imports only in terms of percentages relating to the US economy "taken as a whole" ignores a very vital fact. This is simply that the imports in question could be concentrated within sectors of the national economy so narrow that the imports could mean the death of industries which, however small in relation to the economy "taken as a whole," nevertheless represent the means of livelihood of a majority of the inhabitants of specific localities. Shoes, textiles, watches and pottery are cases in point. The question is whether it is fair to impose upon such small groups the full burden of adjustments from which the nation "as a whole" is expected to derive a net benefit. It is this aspect which might lead even our more enlightened legislators, without "special interests" to defend, to feel that they cannot oppose this reaction as entirely unreasonable.

Consider, on the other hand, the third of our dilemmas: namely, that presented if the interests of US producers, no matter how small their aggregate contribution to the total national product, are protected against foreign competition. If we really insist on bringing foreign aid, in all forms, to an abrupt end in 1952, the effect of granting full protection to US producers against imports will be a catastrophic narrowing of the export markets of the United States in wheat, cotton, tobacco, corn, fats, oils, American machinery, and other manufactured goods, and industrial raw materials, even in those cases in which the United States has a clear price advantage over other suppliers.

It becomes clear that there can be no thought of "solving" the problems of the prospect of greatly increased imports simply by protecting our domestic industries. For, in protecting these from the necessity of making adjustments, we should simply be putting the full burden of adjustment, in the form of unemployment and loss of invested capital, on our present export industries.

Nor would this be the end. To destroy our export markets would, indeed, hurt the United States sorely. But it would also hurt our allies abroad, to whom the loss of their export markets would mean not only unemployment and loss of invested capital, but also the long-run deterioration of living standards. It is hardly necessary to labor the point that this combination of unemployment and deterioration of living standards is precisely the Communist-breeding combination that would force us to accelerate our armament program.

What would happen to the American taxpayer as a result of the loss of the export markets of such a country as Britain? There can be little doubt that Britain has been able to extend economic and military aid to our other allies only because we have been willing to provide Britain with dollars, partly in payment for her exports to us, and partly in the form of direct aid. If we cease to provide Britain with dollars in either of these two ways, we shall immediately confront the necessity for providing these other allies directly with the economic and military aid which heretofore they have obtained from Britain. Again, therefore, we shall be only deluding ourselves if we think that the destruction of the foreign markets of our allies and the sudden cessation of direct dollar aid to them will reduce the dollar burden of the American taxpayer.

In short, we may suddenly be confronted by the overnight necessity to make a series of bitterly painful adjustments which, if they had been spread over a sufficiently long period of years, we might have been able to take in our stride.

I have been concerned in this article primarily to *pose* the "dollar dilemma" now facing the American people, rather than to pretend to resolve it. I have done so precisely because I am convinced that altogether too many Americans, even if they are prepared to recognize that a "dollar dilemma" does exist, are too ready with magically quick "solutions" of the dilemma which simply do not suffice. I should like to suggest that perhaps what is wrong with some of the various "so-

US Trade with Marshall Plan Countries

Total US Exports and Imports—1947-1949

	EXPORTS		IMPORTS	DOLLAR GAP
1947	$5,296,000,000	US	$695,000,000	$4,601,000,000
1948	$4,182,000,000		$977,000,000	$3,205,000,000
1949	$4,072,000,000		$843,000,000	$3,229,000,000

Whose Headache Is The Dollar? *continued*

lutions" proposed is not that they are completely wrong, but that they are one-sided. Their real weakness resides in a failure to strike a balance between the need for adjustment and the need for finding ways to adapt the *pace* of adjustment to the realities of economic and political life as we know them.

There is a danger, I grant, in exaggerating the seriousness of the pains of adjustment. Indeed, I am myself impressed by the fact that the European deficit on current account (the dollar "gap") was reduced from more than eight billion dollars in 1948 to the approximately four billions estimated for 1949-50, with so little dislocation to the American economy.

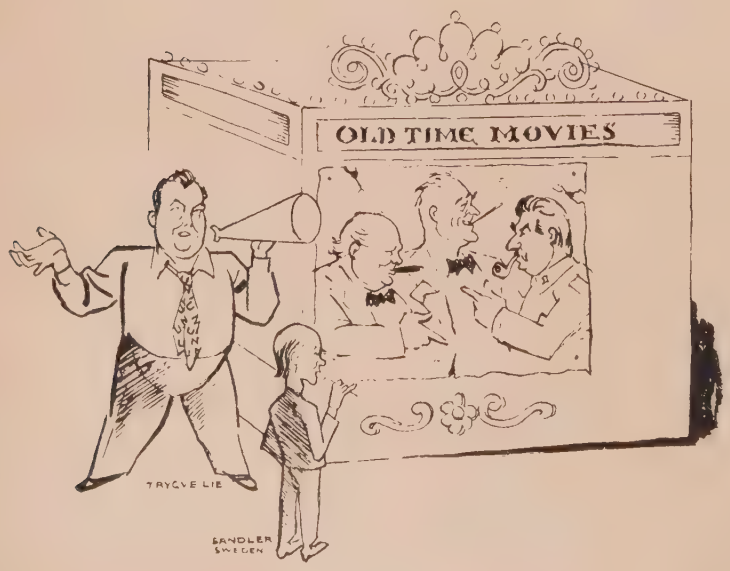
At the same time, we should not underestimate the pains of adjustment. On the contrary, we should be working out a middle ground of policy: one which will cause a minimum of dislocation of the American economy while we pursue our long-run aims. To refrain from setting up new barriers to imports will cause less dislocation than would an insistence on a sharp and sudden reduction of existing barriers to imports. To accept a gradual decline in the share of U. S. exports in world trade will cause less dislocation than would a sudden contraction of those exports as a result of new import restrictions or the sudden cessation of foreign aid.

In the meantime, we could count on long-run factors to help ease the adjustment. Increase of population and increase in per capita income, in combination with the continuing depletion of our natural resources (such as iron ore, copper, lumber, and oil), will create an increased demand that will enable us to buy abroad without injury to domestic producers. Finally, the whole picture of world trade will improve as progress is made toward ending the cold war.

This, I suggest, is the setting in which the future of foreign aid by the United States should really be discussed. No one could seriously argue that it would be politically or economically wise for the United States to plan to pour, and for foreign countries to expect, billions of dollars abroad for the indefinite future. We should all be clear that adjustments will have to be made; and that the *direction* of the adjustments should be, not toward the mirage of national self-sufficiency and the disaster of a completely rigidified domestic economy, but toward the reconstitution of those genuinely international financial and economic arrangements to which the governments of the western world are officially committed and the maintenance of the "free" domestic economy of which we are so ready to boast. But to insist that we maintain a proper sense of the *direction* of required adjustment should not mean that we must insist upon a *rate* of adjustment so rapid as to set up political and economic reactions that will threaten a complete reversal of direction altogether.

In concrete terms, this would mean that, instead of insisting that the "dollar dilemma" be resolved by 1952, we should be considering how post-1952 foreign aid could be so administered as to be consistent with a solution of the "dollar dilemma" on a sound economic basis, at a pace which will not jeopardize our long-run economic and political aims.

It is a question, if you will, of "buying time" within which long-run forces can help us along the road we wish to go. If the price of the "time" that we shall thus be buying is to be the maintenance of our tax burdens for a longer period than some had hoped, we should remember that there is no solution of the dollar dilemma which will be without its price in dollars. The dollar dilemma, I have argued, is an American dilemma more than it is a European dilemma; and unwillingness to face this fact will not exempt us from the consequences of hard reality.



United Nations Sketchbook

by Derso & Kelen, A United Nations World Book, Funk & Wagnalls, 96 pages. $2.85.

THIS is a cartoon history of the United Nations. The authors, a team since 1922 at the Lausanne Conference, have drawn diplomats as they saw them in their native haunts—sometimes on a match folder, sometimes on a visiting card, an official report, even on the blank pages of their passports.

"In a way," they say, "we are head hunters. We collect heads, and by our special process shrink them to the right proportions."

Their "special process" is a combination of keen insight, pungent humor and great talent. The cartoons provide intimate volatile portraits of the greatest diplomats of these times, changing to suit the occasion—sad, thoughtful, gay, angry, talking, silent. They are entertaining and captivating footnotes to history.

PMS

Rendezvous with Europe

By TIBOR KOEVES

CHARTRES: THE TRIUMPH OF SPIRIT OVER MATTER IN A GOTHIC WORLD

I CAN think of few more exciting or more excruciating problems than to decide where to spend the few precious weeks of a summer trip to Europe.

Tourism has become big business—colossal business. Last year American tourists spent almost 200 million dollars in the Marshall Plan countries alone, without counting the 80 million dollars they left in the cash registers of European carriers. This year the amount will probably exceed 350 millions.

The competition for the visitor from the US has inspired a profusion of masterful publicity, advertising and propaganda, the aggregate effect of which fills the imagination of the novice in travel with irresistible nostalgias and with grandiose travel plans that are completely unrealistic and impracticable.

Visit Scotland's romantic castles! Come to sunny Sicily! Admire the tulips of Holland! Enjoy the sophisticated pleasures of the Riviera! Don't miss the mountains and the music of Austria! These and similarly seductive admonitions, coupled with the tales of returning friends, and enhanced by romantic foreign films and travel books, leave the victim breathless with indecision and perplexity, and with the foolish wish to be in half a dozen places at the same time. When he finally makes up his mind and draws up a definite plan, he is already apt to be a frustrated man in whose mind the places he will not see loom almost as large as the future theater of his touristic exploits.

The situation, of course, is greatly simplified when one travels for one specific purpose, such as attending a summer course or a music festival or buying a trousseau in Paris. But it is safe to say that the one-purpose travelers will constitute only a slight fraction of the estimated 400,000 Americans who will go abroad this summer.

The majority of these men and women expect to eat good food, to have fun in night clubs and quaint restaurants, to meet exciting people, to have romance, to enlarge their knowledge of geography and history, of the arts and languages, in short,

FLORENCE: A LITTLE DEMOCRACY CREATES FORMS OF DELICATE BALANCE

to live for the space of a few weeks a life more intense and more dramatic both physically and intellectually than they ever did at home in the course of their daily existence.

For the traveler, therefore, the question of questions is, which are the spots where he will be able to satisfy his various yearnings the most fully and to reap all the satisfactions that he had anticipated when he decided to convert a part of his bank account into a travel fund.

A few of the answers are, of course, obvious.

Travel is infinitely easier and more profitable if one knows the language of the country and has local friends or acquaintances. If I had to choose between Portugal and Sweden, and it turned out that an old and reliable college mate of mine was living in Stockholm, and would be a willing guide, I would not hesitate to select the northern country notwithstanding the profoundest love for sun-baked landscapes and Latin people. A mediator between the lonely traveler and the unknown country is a gift of God that only the inexperienced or the pathologically self-confident would think of refusing.

Moreover, a first trip abroad is inevitably a kind of exploration trip. One discovers how to deal with border guards, immigration officials, customs officers, taxi drivers, with local girls or beaux, and museum guides. One learns the art of handling waiters who insist on serving outlandish dishes, station masters listening with suspicion when one claims lost objects, or cranks proposing a million-dollar business in a sidewalk café, as soon as they find out that the customer is American. No grand opera employs a larger and more fascinating cast than a trip abroad, and the traveler must familiarize himself with each member, for this chorus of characters will provide half of his fun.

During a memorable first trip abroad one also discovers that a sojourn in a strange city is a psychological challenge. And the answer to it is revealed by the manner in which the tourist apportions his time.

Better than by the charts of a psychoanalyst, the character of the traveler is reflected by the number of hours he spends alternately in museums, shops, cabarets, concerts, night clubs, in walks of discovery, in political discussion with chance acquaintances, in Turkish baths, in informative excursions, or simply idling in his bed. His time is his own, he is unbound by the duties of his profession or the routine of his daily life. The purpose for which he uses his freedom reveals his hidden self.

I knew a young man who came from a fine although somewhat strait-laced family and pictured himself as a paragon of intellectualism. Before he ever took his first trip to Paris, he knew the exact location of every important picture in the Louvre, was completely familiar with the architecture of every Gothic church, and could recite the names and the year of birth of every king who held court at Versailles.

Finally he arrived in France, his suitcase bulging with Baedekers, reference books and dictionaries. The very first night he met a friend who was accompanied by a little *midinette*. They called up another girl, introduced her to the newcomer, and when the hour came, at the end of his allotted four weeks, the prim American intellectual left Paris without having seen the interior of Notre Dame and with the souvenir of one single fruitless hour spent on the eve of his departure in the gallery of the Louvre. Strangely enough, he never forgave Paris or the French.

A first trip abroad thus will teach first of all two things: how to deal with the technical details of travel, and how to deal with oneself. The name of the country where these accomplishments are achieved is almost secondary compared to the main purpose. And any assistance in this first exploration must be accepted.

Not all of us have friends or relatives abroad, however, and most of us can communicate our thoughts and impressions only in the King's or the President's English. In this case, what should be our criteria in choosing between Norway and Spain, or Greece and Switzerland?

Obviously, a few exceptional spots

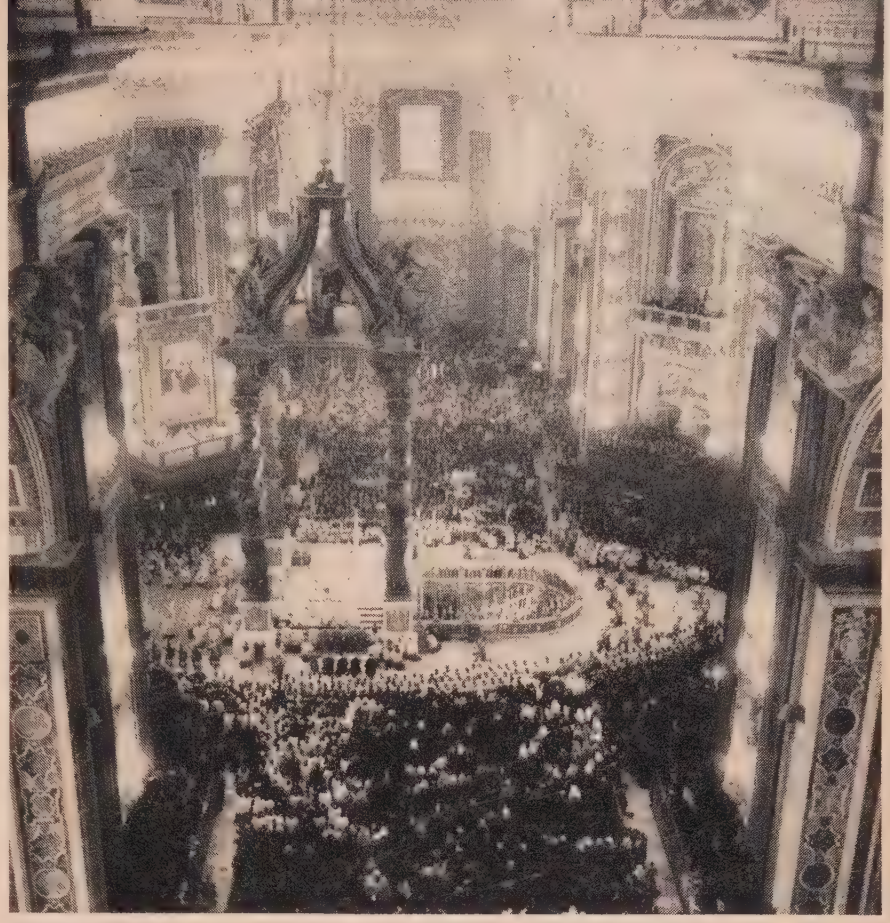
are *de rigueur*. Paris is still the center of the world in all but the political sense. Small wonder if out of 300,000 Americans who went abroad last year, 210,000 visited the French capital. Catholics will make a point of being present in Rome, even if for a few days, during the Holy Year.

But even those who visit France and Italy will be up against difficult choices, there being so many exquisite places in both countries that not three or four weeks, but as many years, would hardly suffice to explore them all adequately. Should one forego a visit to Rouen for the sake of a trip to Avignon? Is it more rewarding to stop at Milan than in Naples?

Here the traveler must be reminded of a most important fact, namely, that he is traveling not only in space but also in time. A trip to Europe is an excursion not only horizontally, geographically, but also vertically, down the ladder of centuries of history. And that means more than book-knowledge of famous names and dates. That means a journey to varied and contradictory conceptions of the beautiful and the ugly, of what is wrong and what is right,—a voyage to totally different philosophies of life. Centuries are not only household words for interior decorators who are commissioned to decorate apartments in specific "styles." They stand for milestones in man's struggle for a wider knowledge of himself and the world, in his attempts to explain mysteries which are still unsolved.

And what does all this have to do with our tourist, the bookkeeper from Omaha or the lawyer's wife and grown children from Oshkosh?

Simply this. We are not all children of the century in which we were born. There are mystics among us, completely out of place in the age of assembly-lines. There are sensuous, refined souls among us who have an instinctive horror of neon monstrosities, but feel all their senses flattered in Versailles or among the glittering marvels of Venice. What is called taste is a marvelously complicated mechanism. It connects not only with visual phenomena but with all the other functions, intellectual as well as moral. Man is a unity and his political beliefs are not unconnected with his choice of the tie he wears, the poets he reads or does not read, or the furniture he selects.



ROME: POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE CELEBRATE THE GLORY OF THE CHURCH

The various centuries are the concentrated expression of a similar integration of taste and thought and morality, and whether one walks the streets of an historic little city in ecstasy or in quasi-indifference depends on whether or not the innermost kernel of a man's soul is in harmony with the ruling spirit, the *genius loci* which presided over the development of the locality.

One does not need to be an historian or an historian of art to be aware of this harmony or disharmony between one's self and the surroundings. I have seen art students enter the Cathedral of Chartres and explain learnedly the function of every constructional detail, the symbolic meaning of every capital and stained glass —and still they didn't say anything worth knowing, for they were basically foreign to the spirit, the metaphysical aspirations of the profoundly God-seeking 13th Century. On the other hand, I have also talked to simple visitors who were without much knowledge of schools of architecture and sculpture, but whose every word revealed that this majestic monument to *Civitas Dei,* God's Republic, was built many hundred years ago expressly for them. Had they lived in those bygone days, I couldn't but feel they would have been one of the inspired helpers who raised one heavy stone on another for all the endless years of construction, gaining strength and patience and happiness from the thought that we *are* God's children, that the soul is stronger than the body and that in the same manner in which the pointed arches reaching for the sky defy the laws of the earth, faith, truth and love are to triumph over temptation, evil and hatred.

Skipping three centuries, who will not feel in St. Peter's in Rome that this imperial building crowned by Michelangelo's cupola glorifies another kind of triumph, that of the Church and its victorious Popes? The power that emanates from the fantastic dimensions is infinitely more of

this world. The authority has lost its mysticism; it has become political. And I have heard many a Catholic sigh: "Yes, this is beautiful, but somehow it's difficult to pray here. . . ."

In between the two stands a church like San Lorenzo's in Florence. It lacks both the metaphysical glow of Chartres and the overbearing ornateness of St. Peter's. The men who built it were sons of a tiny republic, of a true democracy. They were humanists to the core, with a nevermore-to-be-attained feeling for grace, poise and delicate balance. Even a tyrant like Lorenzo dei Medici lost his arrogance here, and while the Botticellis painted the perfect Venus, the political scientists wrote dissertations on perfect administration.

Thus in three monuments created by the same faith to glorify the same God, men of today, whether they be attracted by mysticism or authoritarianism or democracy, find exalted objects for their admiration. For there are stones which are anything but stony, which are still palpitating with the breath of the great artists whose genius it was to express the whole concentrated philosophy of a period.

Congeniality in *time* applies to the past. As to the present, a happy trip abroad calls for congeniality in *background,* meaning surroundings that correspond to one's own status, habits and preferences.

I know many people for whom bathing is one of the main attractions of a summer vacation. In this case, again, Europe offers a perplexing variety of choices. For the young and fanciful, of course, the Riviera is indicated. The French, however, consider Deauville even more chic than Cannes, mainly in the first three weeks of August when the place is the center of France's fashionable life.

More conservative people, especially with children, will prefer one of the British watering places, like Torquay or Brighton or Folkestone, or any one of the several score of spots which, according to an official guide, are visited by "folk who desire of Life only those things which are good and wholesome and lacking complexity."

The Belgian spas such as Ostende stand somewhere between the English and French. The atmosphere is rather bourgeois, but there is a gambling casino and the food is superb.

Even simpler surroundings are offered by the beaches of Denmark; a marvelous example is the tiny island of Fano, a miniature paradise for boating and bathing. It has the added advantage that Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is the only city in Scandinavia which can boast a night life—nothing excessive of course, but always jolly and amusing in the friendliest manner.

For a bicycle tour, I would recommend especially Belgium and Holland. They are flat countries, and small ones which one can completely explore in a few weeks and leave with the satisfaction of having seen not only parts, but a whole national organism.

With the end of the civil war, Greece has become more accessible. To those who love the sea, and don't mind primitive accommodations and pot-luck, an exploration of Greece's Homeric islands offers an adventure they will not forget.

Music-lovers will be faced with an *embarras de richesses.* The Bach Festival in Vienna will take place from June 1 to June 15, the Holland Music Festival between June 15 and July 15, the Salzburg Festival from July 27 to August 31, the Edinburgh Festival from August 20 to September 10, and the International Music Contest in Geneva September 25 to October 8.

Many people have a weakness for popular festivals and folk costumes, as if some hidden memories of a forgotten previous life would arouse in them a nostalgia for a bucolic kind of life. These will be able to satisfy their particular yearning in Segovia, Spain, at the festival of St. John and St. Peter; on the occasion of Sweden's nation-wide Midsummer Festival (June 23-24; June 24-29); at the Festival of Arles in France (June 30-July 3); at the famous Palio of Siena (July 2 and August 16).

If the foregoing mixture of practical hints and abstract considerations perplexes the reader, this writer will not have labored in vain. For it was his purpose to demonstrate that travel is not an altogether simple proposition, for, like all the important things in life, it has two equally important sides. It has a deeply spiritual function and a purely technical and material part, just as do politics, marriage, and yes, even the greatest religions.

Travel Unites Europe

The United States of Europe is a distant dream, but where politics failed, tourism has created an intimate link between the 16 Marshall Plan countries: the European Travel Commission. It plugs and plans off-season tours-with-a-purpose: groups of US farmers, labor union members, industrialists, teachers study the working methods of their European counterparts, with full cooperation of the various governments. Address: European Travel Commission, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York.

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PAKISTAN: The Fifth Titan

A brilliant promise to the world, the emerging leader of the Moslem nations, whose Prime Minister visits the US this month, works hard to develop a new kind of democracy in Asia. It also offers fabulous opportunities to American capital and technical know-how.

By A. BURKS SUMMERS

Board Chairman, Global Trading Corp.

IN A ROOM in the dormitories of Cambridge in 1933, a young man named Chaudhry Rehmet Ali, otherwise lost to fame, pointed out a significant play on words to his Indian Moslem friends. The Urdu word for "Land of the Pure," Pakstan, was composed of the initial letters of Punjab, Afghania (the racial name of India's Northwest Frontier Province), Kashmir, Sind and the terminal of Baluchistan. These were comprised (except for Bengal in eastern India) the chief Moslem areas of India. Mr. Rehmet Ali had made an historic discovery in anagrams.

In any case Pakistan is now the name of the fifth largest nation on the planet, the Moslem power which is more populous than all the others combined. With 80,000,000 people, Pakistan is only behind China, India, USSR and USA. Pakistan, which is very largely an unknown quantity to Americans, is something to be considered very seriously in world politics. The [illegible] will show why.

The creation of Pakistan as a separate state was widely considered a "student's scheme," "impossible," "undesirable," almost until, on August 15, 1947, it became a reality. And in hindsight it now seems clear that any other solution was always impossible and even undesirable.

The "student's scheme," now approaching its third birthday, has a balanced budget, a favorable balance of trade, an independent foreign policy (sympathetic to the Arab League), a stable government and a better standard of living than its neighbors. It feeds itself and has a net surplus of food to export.

When the United Nations reviewed the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan, many delegates admitted their ignorance of this whole area of Asia. The time for any such ignorance is almost past. This month the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, is expected to pay a visit to President Truman. In a world full of new and unsettling things, the Pakistan Prime Minister stands for something that is both new and old, what he calls "Islamic Socialism." This may well become a large factor in world politics for large areas of Asia and Africa.

Pakistan is divided into two parts which sit like two challenging chips on the shoulders of India. West Pakistan holds most of the basin of the Indus River (from which India takes its name), up to the Khyber Pass and the peaks of the Himalayas. East Pakistan or East Bengal is at the mouths of India's two other great rivers, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and leads into Burma. Flooded and tropical, it contains over half Pakistan's population jammed into one-seventh of its land.

From the snow peaks of the west, the land of Pakistan runs past vivid green terraces to the green box and bogmyrtle and the fat-tailed sheep of the Salt Range, on to the green sea of the Punjab grain-fields and the citrus orchards. In Baluchistan, the bare, sunburned mountains are torn by great gorges colored yellow,

THE GREEN AND WHITE FLAG of Pakistan is flourished in the Constituent Assembly by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali

PAKISTAN: The Fifth Titan *continued*

orange and purple. From here come the Baluch and Dhani horse breeds and melons, dates, grapes, peaches, cherries, plums and pomegranates. Further south, beyond the dry plain of Sind, long sand beaches line the ocean shore. In the winter in West Pakistan there is frost but rarely snow. In summer the heat is ferocious but the nights are cool.

East Pakistan is another world. The two great rivers flood the fields every year depositing inches of black silt and the people cross their fields most of the year by boat, building their bamboo cottages on high ground. Rice and jute grow luxuriantly in the marshes. One crop is taken in December. The summer crop keeps its head just above the water level as the summer torrents pour down. Sometimes the reaping is done from boats. The Sunderban jungles in the south have tigers, leopards, bear, wild boar. East Bengal produces 80% of the world's jute, the "brown paper" of world industry, producing 10,000,000 bales of 400 pounds each.

Only two years ago Pakistan endured a convulsion that might have wrecked a less stable people. Six and a half million Moslems fled from India to Pakistan, half a million being massacred on the way. At the same time five and a half million Hindus and Sikhs fled Pakistan and multitudes of these were massacred. On both sides women were abducted by the hundred thousand. Some have since been recovered.

Since the British Labor Government suddenly moved partition ahead a year, India and Pakistan had only two months in which to divide the armed forces of British India, the railway employes, the sterling balances, the military stores, the typewriters and paper clips. Pakistan, the world's largest producer of jute, was left without a single jute mill. A large producer of "American" long-staple cotton, it had no cotton mill. In its new capital of Karachi, it had to install its ministries in tents and barracks. It lost 80% of its traders, 90% of its sweepers, its moneylenders and clerks, for these were Hindus. It gained a surplus of farmers, weavers and shoemakers. As a Punjab magistrate said, "The British are a just people. They have left India in exactly the same state of chaos in which they found it." The remark is of course more witty than it is just, but Pakistan's state was for a time close to chaos.

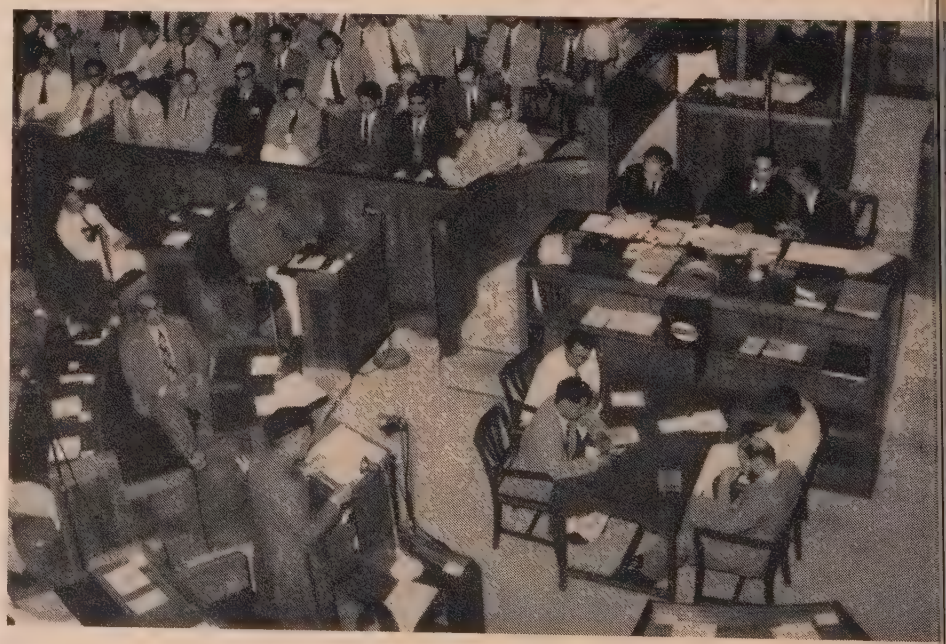
If there was one thing the new state needed less than any other, it was war. And so it found itself at war.

Pakistan had included in its name a K for Kashmir, three-quarters Moslem and the source of Pakistan's rivers. The Maharajah of Kashmir and Jammu, however, was a Hindu and moved to join India. India's Prime Minister Nehru, furthermore, was a devoted Kashmiri. The same sad disorders and massacres were renewed in Kashmir. The troops of India and Pakistan faced one another, in a sort of frozen, arrested war, until the United Nations intervened.

In this atmosphere Pakistan is trying to build. The Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader) Mohammed Ali Jinnah exhorted his people before his death in 1948, "It is now for you to build and build as quickly and well as you can."

As in India, the first problems are hydro-electric power and irrigation. West Pakistan is very dry but what is called the best irrigation system in the world is in West Punjab (Punjab means five waters). Here is Pakistan's chief wheat-growing area, its long-staple cotton, corn, barley and oilseed. In the Sind, the Sukkur or Lloyd Barrage, a mile long, irrigates six million acres and supplies 36,000

THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT of Pakistan, here seen in session in Karachi last March 13, is the Constituent Assembly charged with writing a constitution. At lower left is Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammed presenting the 1950 budget to the Assembly.



AIR CONDITIONING in the ferocious summer of the Sind is provided by these odd wind-traps on the roofs of houses, bouncing the air down the ventilators. This is little Hyderabad, in the hot, dry Sind not to be confused with big Hyderabad in India.

miles of channels for irrigation.

Pakistan has further projected a Karnafuli River dam in Bengal, the Warsak and Mianwali projects in West Pakistan and is planning others at Ghazi and Darband. The hydroelectric equipment for the Dargai Project is being bought from Westinghouse.

Pakistan emphatically invites foreign investment. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali has said that "the climate" for investment has been provided. "We have offered to give all reasonable facilities for remittance of profits earned on capital" and new industries' profits up to 5% are free from taxation for the first five years. In the next ten years, he said, Pakistan needs a billion dollars in capital.

Karachi today is full of foreign technicians, British, American, Swedish, Australian and German. Experts from the US Chemical Construction Co. and the British Power Gas Corporation have set up a fertilizer project and Belgium's Union Chimique Belge has offered to help. Canadian and Swedish firms have sent advisers on a paper mill project. A US company is drawing blueprints for a factory to produce 600 tires and 600 rubber tubes a day. Pakistan has invited the US Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior to survey Pakistan's rivers and recommend Regional Authorities of the TVA type. A British firm has already surveyed coal resources. Ford has set up an assembly plant for tractors and trucks in Karachi and General Motors is contemplating another. Textile looms have come from the H and B Machinery Co. of Rhode Island, and jute-baling presses from the US Lombard Co.

The people of Pakistan are united by the common language of Urdu and a common religion—80% are Moslem. The villages of Pakistan have a degree of isolation difficult for a Westerner to imagine. Those of Bengal are isolated by water for much of the year. The province government intervenes only for taxes and the more serious breaches of the peace. Every village has a guest house, which is also the village club. In West Pakistan the cottage walls are of mud, which is actually cooler than stone in summer and warmer in winter. In Bengal, the houses are of bamboo on built-up islands in the inundated fields.

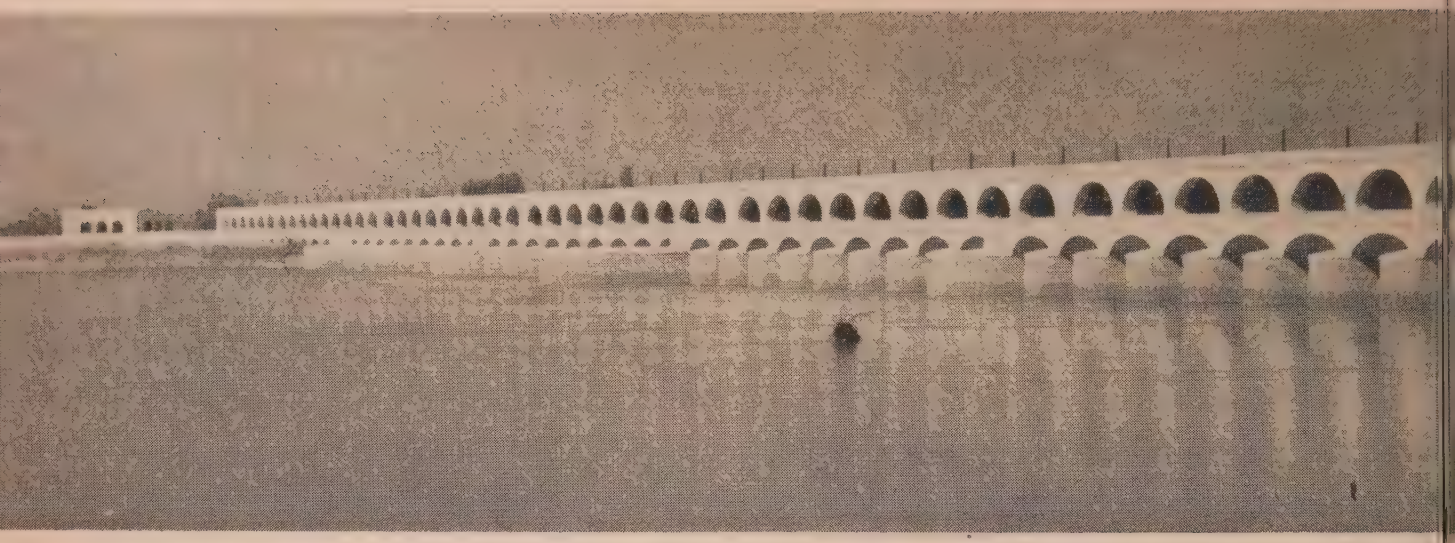
The only cities over half a million are Karachi, the capital and the chief airport of the sub-continent, and Lahore. A dozen others have over 100,000 each. The government is developing as a port Chittagong, long overshadowed by Calcutta.

There is as yet no draft constitution for Pakistan. Some members of the government are inclined toward something like the American system of a strong and independent executive elected directly by the people. Last year the Constituent Assembly passed a resolution which reverently began, "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful," and went on to propose a constitution "wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed."

In short, Islam will undoubtedly be the state religion of Pakistan. Most Christians are unaware of the truly liberal teachings at the heart of Islam. Even some Moslems are unaware of them, as Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan has pointed out, "It is a matter of great sorrow that, mainly through mistaken notions of zeal, the Muslims have during their period of decline earned for themselves an unenviable reputation for intolerance. But that is not the fault of Islam. Islam has from the beginning proclaimed and inculcated the widest tolerance. As far as freedom of conscience is concerned the Quaran says 'there shall be no compulsion' of faith."

Some Moslem assemblymen tried

WOMEN IN PAKISTAN rarely submit to the Islamic "Purdah," instead omit the veil and sometimes paint their toe-nails.



THE MIGHTY INDUS RIVER IS DAMMED FOR POWER AND IRRIGATION AT SUKKU

PAKISTAN: The Fifth Titan *continued*

to proclaim a Moslem monopoly in government but Prime Minister Liaquat Ali sharply rebuked them. His Minister of Communications further exhorted the Assembly, "If you are really serious in opposing Capitalism as represented by certain countries of the West, and Communism as represented by Russia, then put forward an alternative social system"—the Third Way.

The men of Pakistan are clearly in dead earnest about creating a new kind of society and government. Certainly no other Moslem nation, not even Turkey or Egypt, has a fraction of the opportunities and latent power of Pakistan. The present assemblies were elected on a restricted property and educational franchise. The new constitution will probably grant universal male suffrage and perhaps universal female suffrage too.

The religion of Islam calls for some remarkable provisions of the "welfare state." Every year, for the sake of the poor, every Moslem is supposed to give one-fortieth of his assets, not his income but his total wealth. Usury is prohibited. The inheritance law compels a man's estate to be divided among a great number of beneficiaries, so that no concentrations of inherited wealth can be developed. Alcohol of course is prohibited. And "purdah"—the seclusion of women—has no authorization under the Koran. Islam gives women a great deal of responsibility and freedom. And it is explicitly tolerant of all minorities. Pakistan's minorities even have their place on Pakistan's green flag with a star and crescent and a white bar, the latter representing the non-Moslems.

Pakistan is more or less a one-party state, dominated by the Moslem League and Punjabi. Of the present Cabinet, ten are Moslems and one a former Hindu Scheduled Caste (Untouchable). But there is an Opposition, including the Leftist Iftikharuddin, the liberal H.S. Suhrawardy, a more extreme Moslem group and the representatives of 12,000,000 Bengal Hindus, mostly members of India's Congress Party.

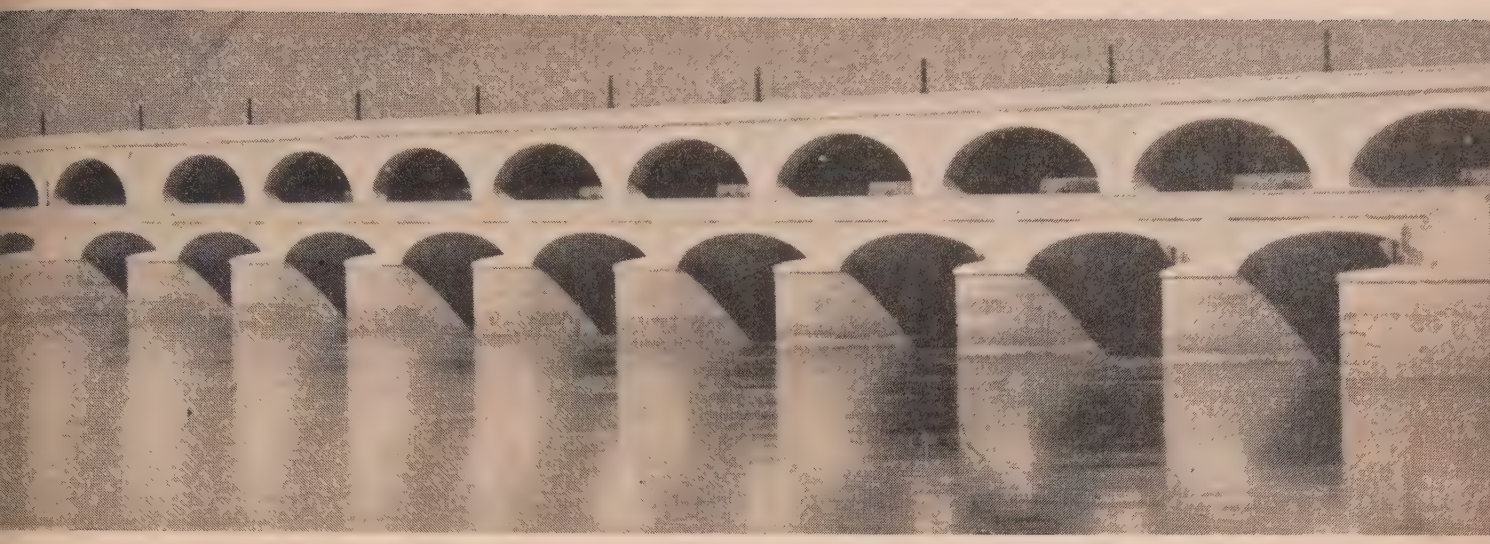
The division of India into two great nations is the climax of some painful history. The first Moslem arrivals came in 711 A.D., almost exactly a hundred years after Mohammed began to preach to the "Refugees and Helpers," as well as the "Hypocrites," the lukewarm ones. The Arab conquerors annexed Sind to the Caliphate of Damascus, but were stopped in their eastward advance by the great desert of Rajputana. The great Moslem invasions, however, did not come until the tenth century, and then followed waves of Turks, Persians and Afghans. Though they ruled nearly all of India, they did not impose their religion on the Hindus. But especially in Bengal they found it easy to convert the castes who had an inferior status under Brahmanism.

The two great cultures never succeeded in a real synthesis. The closest to it is to be seen in the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri near Agra and to be heard in the languages of Hindi and Urdu, similarly fused from Turki, Arabic and Persian with Hindu dialects, but written in Sanskrit in India and in Persian in Pakistan. Islam produced its own characteristic masterpieces such as the Taj Mahal, the Jama mosque and the Red Fort, as ascetic as Hindu art is luscious.

British rule was from the first more afraid of the Moslems than of the Hindus. Moslem lands were sold or given to Hindus. Moslems were long barred from the British Indian Army. They could hope for no better than the job of a "porter, messenger, filler of inkpots and mender of pens." From having been the rulers, they became the servants.

After the Indian Mutiny of 1857, things grew worse. Only one Moslem was admitted to the legal profession in the 1850s and '60s. Persian and Arabic were no longer taught in the schools. A Moslem educational trust supported Hooghly College, but only 3 out of 300 students were Moslems.

Both Hindus and Moslems struggled against the division between them. Gandhi himself said, "I regard Untouchability as the root-cause of our downfall and of the Hindu-



BY THIS MASTERPIECE WHICH IS CALLED THE LONGEST BARRAGE IN THE WORLD

Muslim discord," for of course Hindus regarded Moslems as Untouchables. Jinnah said, "We challenge each other at every point of the compass. Take one example, the eternal question of the cow. We eat cow, the Hindus worship it."

Above all, Hindus and Moslems almost never intermarried, so that time and mutual absorption were not allowed to heal the division. It may be easy for the Western bystander to rise above these divisions but his owr history is not innocent of far worse fanaticisms. Hindus, obsessed naturally with their own revolution against England, were inclined to teach in the schools only the glories of Hindu history, to the neglect of Mohammed and the Islamic heroes, among them conquerors who seemed to be villains to the Hindus. The Moslems would not accept a national anthem which was glorious to a Hindu, but idolatrous to a Moslem.

By 1947 India's Congress Party abandoned its formal opposition to the idea of a separate, sovereign, Moslem Pakistan.

The transfer of minorities in 1947 was accompanied by a great letting of blood. To the shocked onlooker, these massacres seem to prove that partition was inevitable. It may even be true that so long as India had the extraneous problem of controlling a large Moslem minority, it could not have developed the hopeful democracy it has already achieved.

As separate entities, the two great communities of the sub-continent seem both in a fair way to cultivate their own peculiar geniuses. Separated, both are disposed to be generous toward minorities. Pakistan's Prime Minister Liaquat Ali told his overenthusiastic followers unequivocally that non-Moslems have all the rights of Moslems in Pakistan and that a non-Moslem may even be Prime Minister. It seemed as if Pakistan were trying to excel India in generosity, and such competitions must make God smile, whether He be Brahman, Moslem or Christian.

Since the death of Jinnah, the leader of Pakistan has been Liaquat Ali. In contrast to the "lean and hungry look" of Jinnah, Liaquat Ali has a more normal solidity, a cool and serene facade. He traces his family back to a Persian king, Nausherwan the Just. Now 55, he attended Aligarh College in India and then Exeter College at Oxford. He was called to the English bar at the Inner Temple and then returned to India. From his general sobriety, moderation and good sense, he soon assumed leadership, under Jinnah, of the hotheads of the Moslem League. He became its Honorary General Secretary in 1936 and in 1940 its Deputy Leader under Jinnah. When Jinnah became Governor-General of independent Pakistan in 1947, Liaquat Ali inevitably became Prime Minister and Jinnah's "right hand."

Last month he visited Nehru at Delhi, under heavy guard against assassination. The two wise and moderate men sat down to close the breach between their countries. An immediate result was an end of India's boycott of Pakistan jute, considered too expensive since India devalued its rupee, and an agreement on minorities.

The Prime Minister did not take his wife, the Begum, to Delhi, but Americans will have a chance to see one of the most distinguished women in public life when Liaquat Ali brings her on his US visit. The Begum has B.A. and M.A. degrees and taught school before she married Liaquat Ali. She learned typing to help him in his work. They have two sons, Ashraf and Akbar, 12 and 8. She collects the records of Bach, Beethoven and Brahms, plays the piano and guitar and sings a pleasant alto. Her individual character came out during the time of the massacres, when she organized the Pakistan Women's Voluntary Services and summoned aristocratic Moslem girls to serve as nurses. She organized the Pakistan Women's National Guard and the movement to revive cottage industries. Her similarity to Mrs. Roosevelt becomes very evident.

The Prime Minister and the Begum will add two fascinating figures to the public personalities familiar to Americans. In much more than a figurehead way, they represent in their own persons the "Third Way" which is the world contribution of Pakistan.

Ripples at Lake Success

"But I tell you I've heard this two-hour speech three times before!"

AN ELDERLY lady visitor at Lake Success has become anonymously famous since she marveled to a UN guard how a delegate speaking on the floor of the Assembly not only spoke five languages fluently but spoke them simultaneously.

Behind this daily miracle are the UN interpreters, a handful of highly trained and specialized men and women.

"The job pays well," said one, "but it has its irritations."

"Like what?" he was asked.

"For one, some delegates use the same speech over and over, sometimes verbatim. *We* get bored too. And then there is the practice Charles Malik of Lebanon was thinking of when he defined brevity as the 'expression of short ideas in long words.' "

"Any special problems in translation?"

"One of the worst is finding a good equivalent quickly for a proverb or folk-tale or regional expression used by a delegate. A delegate once used a proverb involving a cat. The interpreter was able to match it with an equivalent dealing with a dog in the language into which he was translating. This was all right until the delegate continued the figure of speech and developed it to make his cat climb a tree. The interpreter and his dog were left at the foot of the tree, scratching their heads.

"Jokes and puns are equally tricky. And some delegates make it hard for us by injecting into a speech in one language long quotations in another, such as Ancient Greek, which may be unknown to some of the interpreters. On this, as on nearly everything else, the UN interpreters stand united.

"It would be hard to find a more tightly-knit body of men and women because, if one fails, the whole machinery may break down. This is especially true of the relay-system where one interpreter interprets from another. One day several months ago, for example, two interpreters discovered after five minutes of translating that they had been interpreting from one another."

* * *

MEMBERS of the US Delegation to the United Nations, which officially is entitled the "US Mission," often have to explain to a bewildered public that they have no connection with the Salvation Army. But the high point of bewilderment came recently to a matron who called a friend on the 'phone one evening late, and was connected with the Mission by mistake. At that hour only the guards were on duty. Imagine the lady's surprise when she heard a deep Southern voice intone at the other end of the wire: "US Mission, Gahd speaking."

* * *

SOME time ago a young man was brought into the UN security office to repeat his business that he had an important message for Secretary-General Trygve Lie from God. He explained that he was Saint Sebastian, from Brooklyn. He had only recently discovered his identity and his mission when, on a street in Brooklyn, he saw a star which grew larger and larger and told him, "You are really Saint Sebastian." The star went on to give a confidential message which could only be transmitted personally to Trygve Lie.

Finally convinced that Mr. Lie could be reached only by mail, he allowed himself to be led to the nearest bus station.

"Which bus are you taking?" he was asked.

"I have only to think of a place," he replied, "and I am carried through the air." Saying this, he turned and climbed into the Jamaica bus.

* * *

EVERY tourist is interested in two phenomena at Lake Success above all others: jiggling the earphones to listen to the various different translations — and seeing Mrs. Roosevelt. But last month tourism overwhelmed even statesmanship. Mrs. Roosevelt was to conduct the UN Commission on Human Rights in Manhattan, when she received a frantic telephone call from Lake Success that a thousand tourists were on hand with a fixed determination to get a look at Mrs. Roosevelt. Would Mrs. Roosevelt consider transferring the site of her meeting from Manhattan to Lake Success?

"Would you mind telling us all about the United Nations?"

With her customary patient graciousness, Mrs. Roosevelt would and did.

* * *

ESPECIALLY fascinating is the UN Secretary-General's "unclassified informal correspondence," officially listed as File CGS 52/1/080. It is handled by Miss Helen Gordon, whose daily mail ranges from warnings of sabotage, coups d'etat and mysterious skulduggeries to the touching little thank-you note in which an old lady tells Trygve Lie that she prays for him every day.

One crank-letter begins with a summary: "Formal offer to sell an invention that will surely and effectively solve the difficulties of the entire world; one hundred years no war; written covenant needed." The inventor stipulates that his contract with the UN must be signed by the heads of all UN delegations. His price is one million dollars cash and he asks for $10,000 right away, plus certain expenses.

Just as this gentleman's intention was to be helpful, so other correspondents want to do what they can. One man offers to address the General Assembly; another to mediate in grave international disputes. A third lets it be known that, should the UN ever require an Emperor of the Earth, he will be glad to be a candidate.

In contrast to these unselfish contributors, others have favors to ask. An owner of a baseball team wants to be allowed to decorate his players' uniforms with UN flags. A society claiming to represent "the solar system and all its planets" asks for UN membership.

A French modernistic composer asks the UN to finance the publication of his latest symphony entitled, "*Missa Mundi et Eternitatis*" (Mass of the World and Eternity).

A good deal of labor has gone into some of the communications Miss Gordon receives. One is written in three languages, English, French and Esperanto. From Argentina come 300 typewritten pages on world government. A ten-page letter from France is illustrated by carefully drawn pictures in color of "atomic machinery."

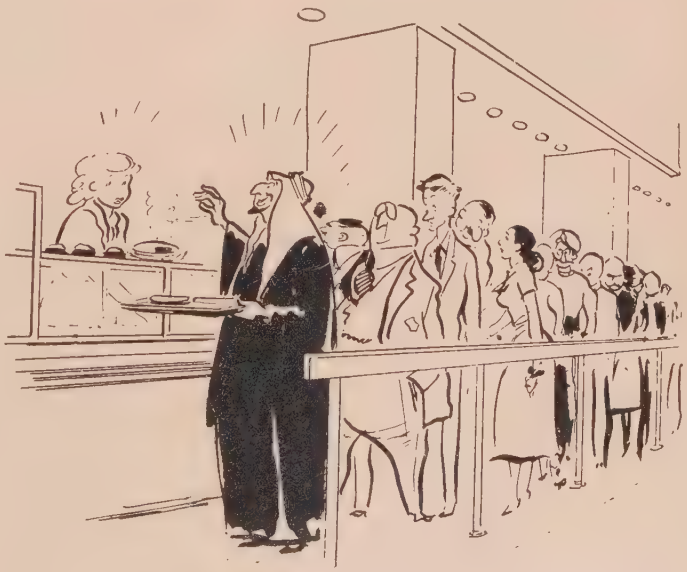
Still remembered is one that read in its entirety: "United Nations, Lake Success, New York. Sirs: What is the cause of World War II?" For such brevity the secretariat is grateful.

Then there was the very, very old lady who went out on a day's junket to Lake Success. She had a really wonderful time. After a kindly welcome by a young receptionist, she sat in all day on important international debates, wearing the headphone which permitted her to hear the speeches as conveyed in English by "simultaneous interpretation." She had lunch and tea in the great UN cafeteria, and was among the very last of the visitors to leave the building that evening.

As she went out, the young receptionist inquired: "Well, how do you like the United Nations?"

"Oh, it's very nice—very nice!" the old lady crowed. "Only *why* do they have so many foreigners around?"

—HANS TOCH



"A bowl of cold Borscht, please, some chili con carne, and a coke."

The World on the Screen

UN World Recommends . . .

THE LAWLESS *(Paramount, American) . . .*

because it deals with a significant subject honestly as well as entertainingly.

MAFIA *(Lux Film, Italian) . . .*

because it brings into sharp focus the civic responsibility of every member of a community.

ROCKING HORSE WINNER *(Universal-Intern'l British) . . .*

because it translates to the screen for the first time the long neglected writing of D. H. Lawrence.

WALLS OF MALAPAGA *(Guarini, French-Italian) . . .*

because it presents Jean Gabin and Isa Miranda in a colorful and refined melodrama.

A Key to Peace: MIGRATION

By DAVID A. MORSE

Director-General of the International Labor Office

In a conference hall in Geneva today world leaders are wrestling with the toughest of all postwar problems. It is how to redistribute the world's primary form of wealth between countries of surplus and of shortage. The wealth to which I refer is neither wheat nor meat. It is the greatest of all resources, human beings themselves. On the agreements that result from this Preliminary Migration Conference may depend in large measure the happiness, prosperity and security of the globe.

It is now generally recognized that increased labor mobility will ease the pressures which in the past have given rise to unrest and strife. The movement of population from country to country in accordance with manpower needs can contribute immensely to the economic wellbeing of underdeveloped countries. It can help raise the living standards everywhere.

This is my thesis. It furnishes the basis of my belief that in an international solution of the problems of migration is to be found an important key to the peace.

In addition to the citizens of many countries who are unemployed or living at bare subsistence levels, there are hundreds of thousands of citizens of no country, "political refugees," whose talents and abilities are rusting by disuse. Moreover, there are numberless thousands of individuals in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world, who are crying out for an opportunity to exchange their labor for a better way of life.

Among these there are many whose standard of living is far below that known by even the poorest in the Western world. I have personally witnessed the plight of Asian peoples. I know that in that part of the world thousands of human beings are born, live and die with never a roof over their heads nor a stomach full of nourishing food.

It was once comparatively simple for men to move from less desirable areas to new lands of opportunity. In those days, great portions of the earth's surface had not yet been developed. They were open to hardy pioneers who would clear the land, raise food, care for livestock, and establish towns, cities and industries.

Today, however, the world is divided into sovereign nations, each guarding its own prerogatives, each anxious to protect its citizens from the real or imagined ill-effects of mass immigration.

Countries of emigration which in times past were willing to have their excess population drift away into strange lands where these citizens were often disillusioned and exploited are now to an increasing degree assuming responsibility for the welfare of those who emigrate.

Immigration countries have made great advances in receiving and handling new immigrants. These must be enabled to adjust to the new life if they are to make a maximum contribution to the economic, scientific and cultural life of their adopted countries. Private organizations, also, are concerned with the welfare of immigrants in all parts of the world.

The principal emigration countries of Europe today are Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. Potential receiving countries outside Europe are those in Latin America, Australia, New Zealand and North America.

As the frontiers of the world have been pushed farther and farther back, the problems of migration have become more complicated. They are obviously international in character, and their solution will come only through international cooperation. This fact has gained considerable recognition since the end of World War II, with the huge numbers of displaced persons adding to the problem of surplus populations.

It was inevitable, then, that international organizations should play a role in the movement of workers and their families from areas of labor excess to areas of labor shortage. Various international bodies have been active in the migration field. The International Labor Organization is the one with primary competence in helping to plan and organize constructive migration. In this it has had experience ever since its first conference held in Washington in 1919.

Today emigration problems are handled by a technical committee of the ILO: the Permanent Migration Committee, which held its first meeting in 1946.

It was at the suggestion of the Permanent Migration Committee that the Convention (or world treaty) and Recommendations on migration for employment were revised by the International Labor Conference in June, 1949. Instruments were adopted which form a basis for the orderly development of migration.

The ILO Recommendation on migration for employment contains, as an annex, a Model Agreement for temporary and permanent migration for employment, designed to guide governments in the future negotiation of bilateral migration agreements.

These documents establish the

basic international standards for the development of orderly migration.

But, as we have always found, it is not sufficient merely to lay down standards. The real problem is to make these standards come alive by applying them to the solution of the problems of migration. I hope that it will not be long before the ratification of the Convention by all nations concerned with migration may be registered with the ILO.

In order to meet the special requirements of individual countries and regions of the world, we have, during the past year, established a Field Office in Asia and maintained a special technical assistance mission in Rome.

Within the next 60 days we will have established a Manpower Field Office in Latin America.

The Migration Conference which opened in Geneva on April 25 is a further effort to focus attention on these problems and to solve them.

Representatives of European countries and countries which normally receive emigrants from Europe, together with the various international agencies, were invited to sit down together for two weeks to discuss common migration problems. Their immediate task is to recommend action to remove the barriers now obstructing the movement of workers between countries. This involves both economic and social factors.

There is fear of the lowering of living standards prevalent in some receiving countries. There is the age-old fear of the foreigner. Most important of all, perhaps, is the conviction that migration in the past has proved a disappointment to the migrant, the country of immigration and the country of emigration.

On the agenda of the Conference are such important topics as determination of the number and qualifications of workers available for migration and the manpower requirements of the immigration countries. The Conference will likewise consider the desirability of establishing machinery for promoting economic development in potential receiving countries, through industrial and agricultural projects.

The International Labor Organization, together with other Specialized Agencies and the United Nations, will continue to assist nations in achieving a satisfactory basis for international migration. In the final analysis, however, migration depends on the will, the purpose and the constructive action of emigration and immigration countries.

Principal Emigrant Countries in Europe

AUSTRIA—During the first eight months of 1949, 7,238 Jewish displaced persons left Austria for resettlement in other countries, leaving 7,971 on Sept. 1, as compared with 12,213 at the beginning of the year. In September, 1,673 persons emigrated from Austria to the US. Large numbers of Austrians would migrate if they could.

GERMANY—British and American authorities have lifted earlier restrictions on Germans emigrating. In April 1949, the Union for German Emigration was organized, with the aim of relieving population pressure by large-scale emigration.

ITALY—A private corporation, representing Italian, United States and Latin-American interests, is reported to be in the advanced planning stage for undertaking large-scale economic development of Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Columbia, Venezuela and northern Brazil, and for helping finance resettlement of excess Europeans. A test program calls for resettlement of 50,000 Italians in Brazil, Uruguay and Peru, and possibly Argentina. For this pilot project costs will be born by the immigrants themselves. Italy is studying possible immigration to tropical and sub-tropical areas of Africa. It is training unemployed workers for other employment abroad.

Principal Immigrant Countries

AUSTRALIA—Ten ships are transporting Europeans to Australia. The total to arrive since June 1949 is expected to mount to 170,000 by June 1950. This is in addition to 50,000 earlier arrivals, all refugees of World War II.

BRAZIL—Has temporarily suspended immigration, but the Presidential decree is not expected to remain in force long. The Government has expressed the hope that a proposed Brazilian-Italian immigration agreement will aid in supplying needed agricultural labor. While numbers have not been released, it is reported that 400,000 Italians are prepared to emigrate to Brazil.

CANADA—During the first seven months of 1949, 64,124 immigrants entered Canada, as compared with 68,378 for the same period of 1948.

FRANCE—Efforts of French and Italian governments to stop illegal emigration of Italians into France have been only partially successful. Since the way France has accepted 125,000 Italians, including 40,000 illegal immigrants whom she consented to legalize, another 500,000 Italians wish to enter France.

INDIA—Approximately 14,000 displaced farmers from Pakistan have settled on land in India. 20,000 displaced persons will be moved from camps to new townships where they will be permanently resettled.

ISRAEL—Israel is reported at the saturation point as far as new immigrants are concerned. When the State was established, May 14, 1948, its population was 655,000. Since then, and by mid-November 1949, 321,991 new immigrants had arrived. A minimum of 150,000 are expected to reach Israel during 1950. Camp population is close to the 100,000 mark.

UNITED KINGDOM—In the four years to November 1949, 275,000 aliens were admitted for permanent residence, as part of an effort to make a genuine contribution to the serious refugee problem in Europe.

UNITED STATES—During the year ending June 30, 1949, 188,317 immigrants were admitted to the US. Of these, 60 percent were quota immigrants, or a total of 113,046, of whom only about a third were refugees admitted under the Displaced Persons Act. By Nov. 1949, 100,493 displaced persons had come to the US.

CHILE

"Chile is called by the nature of her situation, by the simple customs of her virtuous population, by the example of her neighbors and the lofty republicans of Araucania, to enjoy the well-being to be procured by the good and just laws of a Republic. If any Republic lasts a long time in America I believe it will be the Chilean. The spirit of liberty has never been extinguished there; the vices of old Europe and of Asia will come late or never to corrupt the customs of that farthest corner of the Universe. Her territory is limited and it will always be out of infectious contact with other men. She will not alter her laws, her customs, and her practices; she will preserve the unity of her political and religious opinions. In a word, Chile can be free."

Simon Bolivar, 1815

A Program for The World

GABRIEL GONZALEZ VIDELA
President of Chile

THE hope of decent people everywhere in the world is, of course, the maintenance of peace, a guarantee against aggression through collective security, freedom for the individual and economic well-being for all.

Had the United Nations been supported in the past by all its members—had the Soviet Union not departed from the spirit of the Charter—these four universal aspirations of mankind would have been very close to reality by today, five years after the San Francisco Conference. However, as the situation is, we must fight within the framework of the UN for a stronger coordination of the efforts of the democratic nations of the world.

I profoundly believe that the time has come to create a Democratic International of governments and peoples which will be one of the most gigantic forces of our time. This Democratic International will not aim at imposing its will upon people who do not want the democratic way of life. It will not try to change the political structure of the Soviet Union or of any other country. It will not aim at conquest.

In contrast to the other Internationals, the Comintern or the Cominform, the Democratic International will be an element of peace and unity for mankind. It will make it impossible for any single democratic nation to be overrun, taken over by a foreign power, subverted by outside influence and isolated from fellow democrats in other countries.

The Democratic International should consist of a permanent organization of the democratic governments of the world which will use every means at their disposal to strengthen the United Nations and prevent aggression.

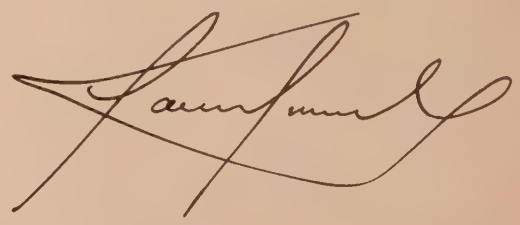
Within the framework of this new universal democratic movement, the inborn spiritual force of the democratic citizen, his constant desire to work ceaselessly for peace, will find an abundant field of action.

Besides the creation of a Democratic International, concrete measures for armed defense will have to be taken by the free peoples, with the object of facing the danger of an eventual aggression; cooperation on economic and social matters will have to be greatly increased; human rights will have to be defended and deepened.

Furthermore, as President Truman has suggested, the distortions of peace aims by the Soviets will have to be counteracted.

No country of good faith could fear the coordination of democratic resources, for they would be used only if there is an aggression, or if the Security Council of the UN cannot function because of the abuse of the veto power. The right to collective defense if a member of the UN is the object of an armed aggression, and the Security Council is unable to act, is expressly provided for in Article 51 of the Charter.

These initiatives—the creation of a Democratic International, and common defense against an aggressor—will constitute, in my judgment, the most important contribution to the peace of the world.



NEW YORK, APRIL 18, 1950

A Program for The Hemisphere

CORDELL HULL
US Secretary of State 1933-1944

ALTHOUGH the language of Bolivar and San Martin was different from that of Washington and Jefferson, they were expressing the same purposes and principles, and they led their countrymen along the same paths. These are are the paths along which inter-American unity has developed, growing ever stronger as the American nations have come to understand one another and to have trust and confidence in one another's purposes, so identic that they have produced, not division and jealousy, but unity of thought and action.

As the years have gone on, the true principles underlying inter-American unity have been made more specific as one inter-American conference followed another. In the years between the world wars, the trust and confidence between the American nations grew ever stronger while elsewhere the growth of ambitions of conquest by force brought division and fear. It is the common pride of the American republics and the good fortune of all mankind that the torch of international cooperation has burned at its brightest in the affairs of this hemisphere precisely at a time when it was being blacked out elsewhere. It is natural that the history of an international association which has endured longer than any other should provide encouraging guidance for the future.

We citizens of this hemisphere have great opportunities before us. Together we foresaw, pointed out and prepared against the dangers of war. Together we must foresee and prepare for the ever-greater common task of the peace. I believe that in future years men of the Americas will see unfolded before their eyes ever-increasing evidence that the path along which inter-American cooperation has led is the path to human liberty and human welfare.

The three major objectives of the American states are:

1. The effort to secure peace throughout the world, and as a corollary, the preservation of our American institutions and our system of international relations based upon the peaceful settlement of all international disputes. Any menace to that peace is a matter of concern to all of us.

2. Economic cooperation for the welfare of all the American peoples. The American republics have declared their intention to develop their international trade upon the principle of equality of treatment, and to eliminate excessive and un-economic barriers to such trade. My conviction grows ever stronger that economic disarmament is one of the essentials for political stability and for a return to international relationships based upon a respect for law, order and the faithful observance of obligations. *The American republics do not* seek a regional solution for the economic problems confronting the world today. They recognize the interdependence of all nations of the world in these fundamental questions and are eager to see the principles to which they have adhered, adopted by all nations of the world.

3. The strengthening of international law is a third vital concern for all of us. The contribution which the American republics may be able to make toward the strengthening of international law and toward revitalizing it as an effective force in international relations will be a constructive factor in the world situation.

Cordell Hull

WASHINGTON, APRIL 18, 1950.

MY COUNTRY

By GABRIELA MISTRAL

Nobel Prize for Literature, 1945

IN THE partition of the continent of giants, in the geographic Pantagruelism of the conquest, much was left to the Captaincy General of Chile—570 thousand square kilometers which were hung like a superfluous tassel on to rich Peru.

Precisely because the country was small, she organized herself before the larger ones, and with a determination born of a will that comes to the fore in trying times, she carried out her own development more intensely than the others.

If the continent has given us a foot-stool instead of a chair, the sea has offered us every opportunity along a coast 2,600 miles long. It is within six hours reach even from a city or village walled in by the mountains. We have such access to the sea that though we live in mountain ravines it can be said that the sea air has strengthened the lungs of all our children. Sea of the north with radiant warmth and the drowsy life of tropics, white blue sea, the luxurious surf of the gay *Constitucion* beach, livid grey sea toward the south, the father of great tempests which challenged the classic mariners.

After the omnipotent sea, the mountains give us their tonic and as a theologian said, leave their imprint on our character. One cannot think of any segment of Chile without them looming up as any dramatic backdrops to city or country. The whole land is like one favored spot for human life.

Where there is a broad sky there will be found *Tupungato, Tres Cruces* or *Osorno,* peaks authoritatively ruling the valley with their presence.

The great Pedro de Valdivia wished the capital of the country to be ruled by this geological hierarchy to remind the people not to forget their maternity in rock.

The desert, which halted the Incas with its stony reverberations, stretches through three provinces so great in relation to Chile's territory that it might have been a curse had it not soon yielded us riches. We might have faced the decided calamity of a Sahara eating away a third of our country.

As a panorama, the *Atacama* desert appears forbidding to those who have eyes only for delightful landscapes. If seen in fragments, the Chilean desert is plebeian with its

THE MAP breaks Chile into three parts with heavy broken lines, to indicate the three basic divisions of Chilean terrain: the mineral deserts at far left, the industrial and agricultural heart of Chile in the centre, and finally the rain forests fading at far right into the tundras and ice-fields of Tierra del Fuego.

Key to the Picture-Map of Chile

Numbers on the picture-map above spot the following features of the variegated Chilean landscape:

1. The nitrate railway across the northern desert and the fort at Arica, scene of some fighting in Chile's 19th Century war with Peru and Bolivia.
2. The northern fish canneries and the new copper sulphide plant at Chuquicamata, now being constructed by Anaconda Copper Co.
3. Copper refineries, and the beach at Antofagasta.
4. The best game-fishing in the world.
5. The sweet golden wines of Vallenar.
6. Mercury, gold and silver.
7. Andean condor, Chile's national bird.
8. The Christ of the Andes, guarding the pass under Mount Aconcagua, highest (four miles) in the Western Hemisphere.
9. Fish-packing.
10. Hydro-electric system, one of six great generating plants planned for the whole country.
11. New industries, including textiles, built around the Huachipato enterprise
12. which will make Concepcion the Pittsburgh of Chile.
13. Agricultural mechanization and irrigation developments between Valdivia and Puerto Montt.
14. Year-round skiing on the shoulders of the Andes.
15. The mineral waters of Lake Puyehue.
16. The great hydroelectric plant at Pilmaiquen, opened in 1944, with a capacity of 24,000 kilowatts.
17. The lake resorts of the south.
18. Land populated only by sheep and shepherds.
19. The oil-fields of Tierra del Fuego.
20. Fort Bulnes, even further south than the world's southernmost city, Punta Arenas.

savage, implacable rockiness and a nakedness which neither the sparse, colorless herbiage nor a seven-month spring could ever clothe. The drought tears at the tear ducts and makes them bleed; the air, free of any particle of humidity, seems made for the vulture.

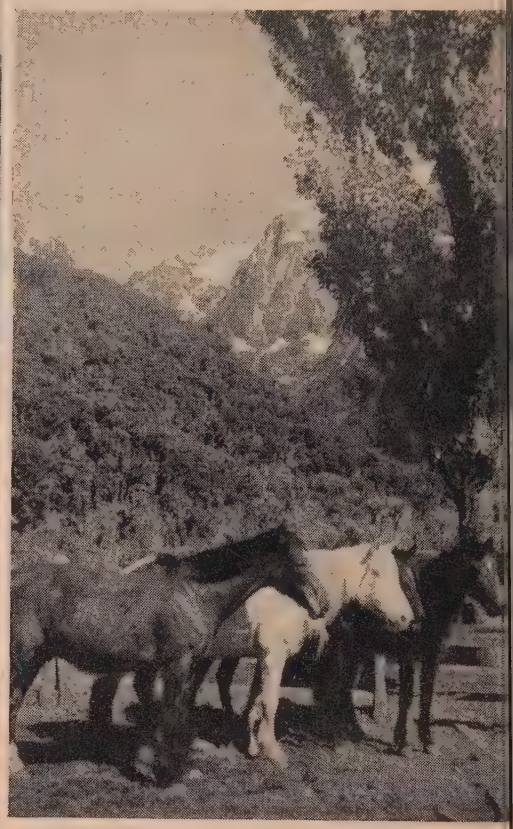
But the nitrate pampa is beautiful in breadth. There is a nobility about it when at the siesta hour it merges into a single reflection to the point of brilliance, and at night beneath a full moon, it merges again, now in a whitish grey plain, broken at intervals by fantastic hills. Only on these pampa nights does the earth forget herself to savor the joy of an astronomer—enemy of fog—a heaven of burnished enamel, without the banality of clouds, which to the tired eye seems almost an artificial horizon of pure perfection with sharply-defined constellations.

After the stark desert there is a transitional region which resembles a battlefield between the arid and the fertile, such as is found in Palestine and in Morocco.

This region produces a fig as beautiful as that of Sicily; a long sun-drenched raisin better than the Greek; a papaya smaller than the oilier tropical kind, fragrant

PUCON: Vilarica Volcano

VINA DEL MAR: The Bea



LAGUNA SAN RAFAEL: Glacier

SANTIAGO: Congress Building

BELOW THE PEAKS: An Idyllic Ranch

MY COUNTRY *continued*

and sharp-flavored; and a brandy that ranks among those least detrimental to the human system. Perfect summers, are these, yielding an aristocracy of fruits worthy of an Asiatic table. Pomona, of the fruit trees, rather than Ceres, mother of grains and abundant pastures, has journeyed with Oriental feet through this tiny bowl of earth.

The robust body of San Cristobal is formed by the so-called Central Valley that unfolds between the Andean range and the quasi-range of the coast. It forms the agricultural arm of a nation wealthy in strong hands.

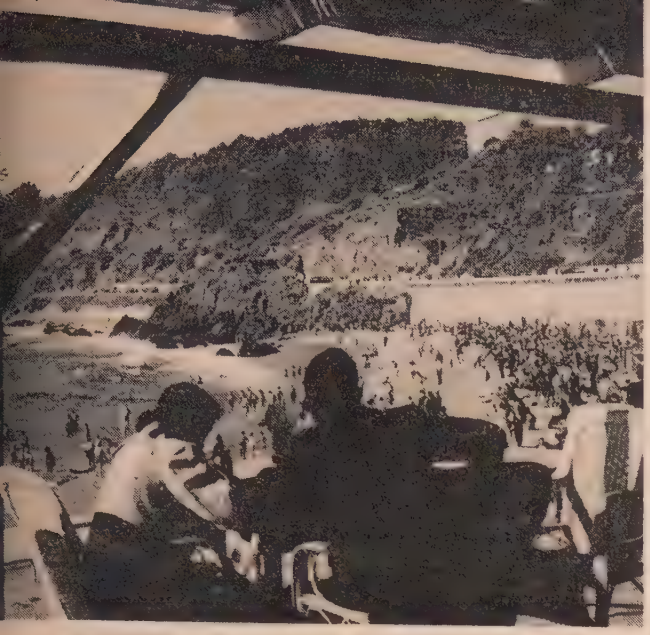
A pleasantly mild valley, it undulates with wheat-sown hills and is interrupted by one or two volcanoes tending its vast green mercifulness—the *Descabezado*, the *Chillan*, the *Llaima*, the *Osorno*. Without geological exaggeration it can be called, like the Valley of the Rodano, "the blessing of the planet," a generous gift from its provinces, a loyal offering for agricultural pursuits so man need neither break his back with over-work nor undertake some ill-starred project.

Where the verdant vineyard is brusquely broken by the "Bio-Bio," another extraordinary region of our territory begins. This is the cold tropics, the marvel of geographers and naturalists.

The real tropics dazzle the eye with their Dionysian hues which excite, lacerate and end by exhausting the senses. These tropics are as vast as the other, but disciplined and almost austere. A narrow sky presses which, when seen in July, seems never to have loosened its dark cloud cover and jungle masses appear to have grabbed the mountains by the feet and to carry them on their shoulders. Or, if one sails when the evil fog lifts, there comes to view an island not of rocky volcanic spewings but an enormous sylvan platter, without a sandy border, with ivies, cypresses or nüptines seemingly diving into the very sea.

In this region of sombre vigor may be found countless aristocratic species of conifers and ferns.

Seek, from Valdivia island, the larch which Lafont called "the first tree of the world" and which it might well be if we were to establish a plant hierarchy under



VALPARAISO: Shore Drive

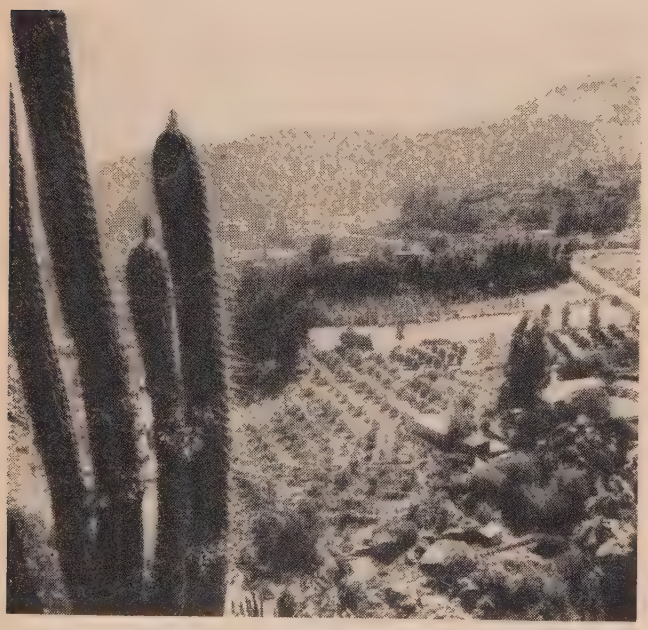
a joint standard of economics and aesthetics. The larch has the magnificent stature of the captains of vegetation; living two months mired in humidity, it remains incorruptible when summer comes and with it the breeding of insects on its trunk which leave no marks or holes. Thus it defends itself like a Homeric hero, and far from being obstinate its bark lends itself to carding and to yielding a very fine wool.

And, finally, as though all this were not enough, it is generous and prolific, unlike the so-called precious woods and the scarce sandalwood.

Something like a synthesis of the planet is fulfilled in the geography of Chile. It starts in the desert, which is like beginning with sterility that loves no man. It is humanized in the valleys. It creates a home for living beings in the ample fertile agricultural zone; takes on a grandiose sylvan beauty at the end of the continent as if to finish with dignity, and finally crumbles, offering half life, half death, in the sea which wavers between its blessings of water and its Buddhic blessings of eternal ice. . . .

CHILE, Master of Its Fate

By HORACE R. GRAHAM
President, Anglo-Chilean Nitrate Corp.
Vice-President, Guggenheim Brothers



WORKERS' HOMES lie among the evergreens and cactus in the fertile farming and vineyard country around Santiago.

DESPITE its peculiarity of being shaped like a cavalry saber, Chile is a successful modern nation because it is really three distinct and diverse Chiles.

The bottom third is a wild and beautiful vacation land, a timber reserve, a pasture for Chile's meat and, for good measure, an oil field.

The top third is a desert which provides many minerals, principally copper and nitrates, which will generally give Chile a favorable balance of trade as long as they last, which should be several hundred years.

The central third is a natural homeland, fertile and populous, with perhaps the most perfect climate in the world.

Chile thus unites in one attenuated piece of real estate the essential assets to be found separately in, for example, Iran, Switzerland and Australia.

Its unique location, perched on the ledge beneath a towering mountain wall and staring out across the deep and empty Pacific and Antarctic Oceans, gives a Chilean a strange, exhilarated sense of being alone in the world. Simon Bolivar called Chile "the farthest corner of the Universe," inaccessible to the vices of the world. Even its fauna is its own. It has no poisonous snakes, only one species of frog and one toad, only one venomous spider and amazingly few other insects. Its mammals are few and peculiar: the chinchilla and nutria, the guanaco and the deer on Chile's shield, the huemul. Chile so awed the early Incans that they gave it its present name which meant, by an amazing etymological coincidence, just what it means in English, i.e., chilly.

The climate seems to make extraordinary people. It produced in Chile, before the Spaniards, the Araucanian Indians (they prefer to be called Mapuches) whose disciplined legions hurled back the Inca power. These "splendid and magnificent Indians" fought the Spaniards to a standstill for three centuries and were never conquered (except by the alcohol and diseases of civilization), the only Indians to defeat the white man. The conquistadors were the best soldiers of Europe and they regarded the Araucanian with admiration.

The original Spanish stock was Castilian, Andalusian and Basque, "the most Gothic blood in Spain," and the men-at-arms interbred with the Indian women. Later came men and some women from every country of Western Europe. The melting-pot operated with complete equalitarian freedom. Today Chile is called the most homogeneous country in South America, literally a new race, like the North Americans.

Nearly everyone who meets them grows to love the Chileans of today. As a people, they have perhaps a stronger sense of social justice than even the English and North Americans. They do not boast or bully or flatter or deceive (or at least do so less than most people). Virile but reflective, warm-hearted but unsentimental, they are that rarity, a people who really prefer the truth. To a considerable degree, their character was pounded out on the anvil of fighting the Araucanian Indian, on the moral challenge of a perpetually drawn battle with an equally heroic foe. The Chilean has reason to respect both himself and his fellow-man.

This happy land is not without its serious flaws. Ex-President Carlos Davila has written that Chile's landholding class "was cut off from the great mass by an economic abyss" and quotes the paraphrase that Chile had "government of the *hacendados*, by the *hacendados*, for the *hacendados*." This is no longer true, but its economic legacy remains.

A thousand great landowning families own 60% of the cultivated land in the Central Valley, which is about the same proportion of the land that is irrigated. And unfortunately the poor cannot open up new land. The cultivable area is hemmed in by the deserts, the mountains and the rain-forests to the south. What is left is extremely fertile but it gets rain less than half the year, and requires irrigation, which costs money.

The result is that the Chilean agricultural worker has been a distinctly underprivileged human being. For many years Chile has had one of the worst health rates among nations that submit reliable data (though some others would look far worse if the truth were known). Since 1920 the death rate has dropped from a terrible 30 a year (per thousand) to 16.7. Tuberculosis, one of Chile's worst diseases, has stayed the same, around 250 deaths a year per 100,000. The infant mortality rate has dropped since 1930 from 23.4 to 15.9 per hundred births, but even the latest figure is appalling. However, the life expectancy of a Chilean baby, which was 31 years of life, has now climbed to 42 years. Only six per cent of the Chilean people live to be 60 and the population is heavily weighted with children.

One need only look to the Chilean diet for part of the reason for these figures. It works out at about 2400 calories a day, as compared to a US 3200 a day. But. more seriously, it is based on beans and is short on animal proteins and fats, the so-called protective foods. It is dangerously high on cereals, having the highest cereal percentage among Latin America's chief countries.

It is safe to say that this diet is the chief preoccupation of Chile's leaders. It lies at the core of every economic and social program, as well as of every political disturbance.

Because of it, Chile was the first American nation to adopt the elements of the "welfare state," as early as 1925. Its social security law, extended in 1933, protected workers against sickness, disability and poverty in old age, called for severance pay for workers. Medical insurance was established in 1933 and vacations made compulsory. The Preventive Medicine Law means that 80% of the population gets some sort of medical insurance. This policy of consideration for workers is even to be seen in the 15-cent, three-course lunch served at workers' restaurants in Santiago.

Because of the diet, the Government has concentrated its efforts on increasing irrigation and agricultural mechanization. It has already shown marked increases in the production of rice (chiefly for export), potatoes, wheat, sunflower seed (oilseed) and, most importantly, fruits and milk. The Chilean now gets a great deal more milk and cheese. Together with the fruit, that has doubtless

Chile's First Publicity

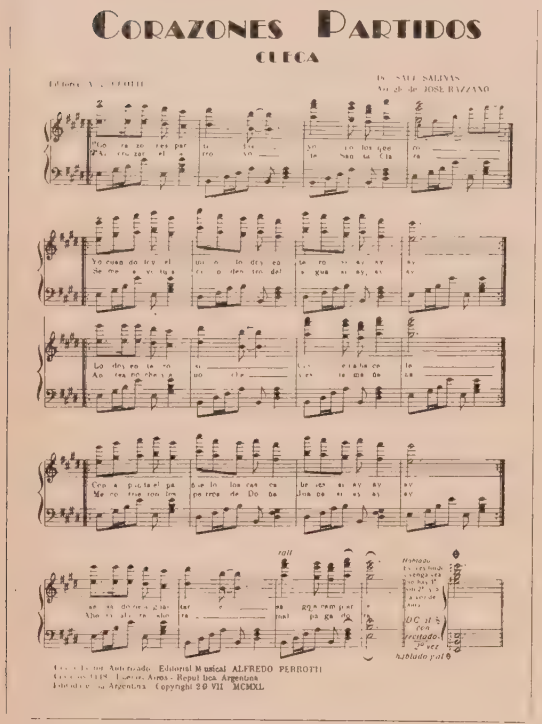
Being a letter from Pedro de Valdivia in 1545 to the Emperor Charles V of Spain

". . . and that he may tell the merchants and people who wish to come and settle, to come. For this land is rich such that there is none better in the world for living and settling down; this I say because it is flat, very healthy, and very pleasant; it has no more than four months of winter, and even then it is only when the moon is at the quarter that it rains a day or two, and on all the other days the sun is so fine that there is no need of drawing near a fire. The summer is so temperate, with such delightful breezes, that a man can be out in the sun all day without suffering ill effects. It is a most abounding land in pastures and fields, and for yielding every kind of livestock and plant imaginable: (there is) much fine wood for building houses and an infinity of firewood for use in them, and rich mines of gold, the whole land being full of it. And wherever men may wish to take land there they will find a place to sow, and the wherewithal to build, and water, wood, and grass for their beasts; so that it seems that God made it purposely to be able to hold it all in His hand . . ."

All the above is understatement except for the deliberate falsehood about the discovery of gold. Valdivia desperately needed settlers to fight off the Araucanian Indians. The gold yarn brought them.

THE SON OF A HUASO or Chilean cowboy in the high Lake District proudly adjusts the ornate spurs on his boots.

Master of its Fate *continued*



WHAT THE WALTZ is to the Viennese the Cueca is to the Chilean. Above a famous popular hit.

CHILEAN FARMER clops expectantly into town, carrying his dog on his chickens on his horse on his way to market.

been the reason for the Chilean's improving health in the past decade. More can be done, and is being done.

But agricultural reforms are not enough in themselves. The agricultural worker rarely sees any cash money at all and has been pretty much outside the consumer goods market.

Furthermore, Chile with the rest of Latin America, has the highest rate of population increase in the world today, surpassing even Asia. It looks toward the day when it will support not 6,000,000 but 15 or 20,000,000 people, on a land which is 72% arid.

The answer was plain to Chile's leaders in the late 1930s. Chile had to industrialize itself and in a hurry, by forced marches.

That was easier resolved than put into effect. For the Chilean economy had certain defects not uncommon among underdeveloped countries. For one thing, the moneyed class preferred to keep its capital liquid, waiting for opportunities for short-term speculation. It had a partiality for commercial investments which might show fairly quick profits up to 25% in preference to long-term industrial investment. Even in the good year, 1948, Chile's national income was only $337,000,000 and savings were only 10% of this.

Furthermore, Chile had and has no investment banks as such, to issue securities, and the commercial banks' rates of interest are about 10%. Trading in the securities markets is typically very narrow, stock in most companies being closely held by the founders' families. And new industrial projects are far more costly in Chile than in an industrialized country.

These and similar difficulties slowed Chile's industrial growth until 1939. In January of that year Chile was literally and tragically jolted by a devastating earthquake.

One result of the earthquake was the creation of "Fomento" (meaning development), the Corporacion de Fomento de la Produccion, a Chilean Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Its purpose was nothing less than to convert Chile into a modern industrial power, capable of weathering such shocks as the earthquake of 1939 and World War II which was shortly to follow.

Since then the Chilean Government has poured about $100,000,000 into Fomento. Funds came at first from the copper tax and, since 1948, from a regular allowance in the budget. In addition, Fomento received $100,000,000 in loans from the International Bank and the Export-Import Bank. Later, Fomento's investments in new enterprises brought in its own income, which reached a high of $8,000,000 in 1945. This was put into still further enterprises.

The current operations of Fomento are examined in another place in this magazine, but it is difficult to describe the full scope of Fomento's undertakings.

It has thrown its weight primarily behind steel, oil, hydroelectric power and agricultural mechanization. It owned some industries outright, became a temporary partner in others and lent money on collateral to still others.

The variety of its enterprises included chemicals, textiles, copper manufactures, cement, tires, radio, movies, fishing, canning, electrical machinery. Wherever it found a gap in the Chilean economy, it came to the rescue with blueprints, capital and action.

It brought in thousands of tractors, harvesters, plows and cultivators and organized the "Mechanized Agricultural Team Service" to make the new equipment available to as many farmers as possible. It has developed new irrigation systems, using both surface and underground water, and left them in full working order. It has introduced pedigreed cattle stock, planted fruit trees, distributed seed for such industrial crops as flax and hemp.

By 1949 Chile, which had already been the world's chief producer of nitrate and iodine and second in copper products, had become also the most important coal producer in Latin-America and the world's eighth producer of manganese. It was also mining gold, silver, mercury, molybdenum and sulphur.

Finally, the Chilean worker was getting the highest wage in South America, close to $70 a month.

Fomento had enunciated a policy of selling its established industries to private capital as soon as they got on their feet. But the securities market in Chile remained so discouraging that it held on, hoping for better prices. Its philosophy was apparently that, when capitalism failed to do the job, Socialism became a necessary evil which was to be abandoned at the first opportunity.

The sort of shock for which Fomento was arming Chile came in early 1949 with the drop in the price of copper from 23½ cents to 16 cents (though it came back to 19¢). Exports sank, dollar exchange grew scarce and Chile has been obliged to cut down its imports to save dollars. It tried to buy some of its requirements in the soft-money areas of Europe, but it found that such commodities as petroleum, sugar, cotton and some machinery simply were not for sale for soft currency.

Chile's problem was also the problem of the US. For in ten years the US had become the chief customer and supplier of Chile, as of all the other Latin-American countries (except La Plata countries). US businessmen had largely moved into the position formerly held by the English and Germans. US products had become everyday commonplaces to the Chilean people.

Chile's needs for US credit will be substantially helped by Fomento's careful planning of all its projects and its prompt attention to debt payments. It has a high credit rating abroad.

Chile is not alone in the world in having trouble at this moment in history. But it is almost alone in holding clearly before it a practical and optimistic picture of what it wants and intends to be. Something about Chile seems to inspire a passionate loyalty in Chile's inhabitants, white men and Indians, statesmen and peons. Certainly Chile's unique physical assets are important in the immediate future of the country. But far above them must be rated the character of the Chilean, his social goodwill, his resolution and ingenuity and his institutions developed in relative solitude on his beautiful shelf of shore between the mountains and the vast sea.

The Mystery of the Nitrates

In trying to explain how they happened to inherit their fortune in nitrates, Chileans have worked out a number of theories, none of them entirely acceptable.

1) Oxidation of atmospheric nitrogen during centuries of violent electrical storms.

2) Fixation of nitrogen by the decomposition of some single form of soil microorganism.

(Both these theories are out, because neither explains the iodine, which is mixed with the nitrogen.)

3) The desert was once the bottom of a sea, which left huge masses of seaweed to rot. (Wrong, because this would have left bromine, which is absent.)

4) Centuries of bird-droppings or manures from vast herds of llamas and vicunas. (Wrong, because these would have left phosphate, which is not present.)

5) The beds of rock and gravel on the mountainside impregnated the streams with nitrates which were deposited when the water evaporated in the desert. (Maybe.)

HACENDADO and family can eat in the patio 365 days a year in Chile's climate. Notice that spaniel picks shady side.

The City

In the contest for supremacy between Chile's cities and its farms *(see page 70)*, the city has currently drawn into a commanding lead. The growing wealth of Chile expresses itself in the cities, which have so far kept their architectural dignity and taste. Great industrial enterprises *(see pp. 52, 73 et seq.)* will accelerate movement to the cities.

"THE BIARRITZ OF CHILE," Viña del Mar near Valparaiso. is famed for aristocratic villas, gambling and barouches.

VALPARAISO has cable cars like San Francisco, rising from bus terminal, statue of Arturo Prat and railway station.

PALMS, the Pacifico Hotel and the promontory of El Morro (*above*) mark Arica.

UNIVERSITY OF SANTIAGO (*below*) takes 10% of its students from abroad.

NEON LIGHTS in Santiago advertise a charity lottery (*below*). Notice US cars.

The Country

No other country has a land more worthy of love or more varied in its kinds of appeal. In the desert north and the fertile central sections, the dryness of the air gives every prospect an eerily dazzling lighting, which can be observed in the pictures on these pages. Since most Chileans have an agricultural heritage, the country is bred in their blood.

MOUNTAIN FARM, like Switzerland, near Osorno, shows a native auracaria tree, oxcart and steep-pitched church roof.

CHILE too has its rough-riding cowboys. They are called *huasos*, and are seen here closing in fast on a steer in a corral.

THE SUPERB GRAPES of a vineyard near Santiago are admired by a Chilena.

THE BRILLIANT DRY LIGHT of Chile shines on this farm at Calera in the Aconcagua River valley, rich farming area.

Any outsider who attempts to comment on Chilean politics does so at his peril, but there can be no two opinions about the verve and energy of the Chilean press. In other fields, these qualities have won for Chileans the name of the "Yankees of South America," and they are characteristic of the nation's newspapers.

They are hard hitting newspapers, as I found during my stay in Santiago in 1942, when I was temporarily on the staff of the *Mercurio*. I was one of a half-dozen American newspapermen who went to Chile on a journalistic exchange sponsored by the Office of Inter-American Affairs. A corresponding number of Chilean newspapermen had worked on leading American newspapers, and I was assigned to the *Mercurio* because it is in many respects the New York *Times* of Chile.

The *Mercurio* has a daily circulation of only 80,000 which rises to 100,000 on Sundays, and its resouces do not permit it to maintain foreign correspondents. However, it uses a large volume of news agency dispatches, and nowhere else in the Americas, with the exception of New York and Buenos Aires, is there such comprehensive coverage of international news. In addition, its editorials, written by, or under the direction of, Rafael Maluenda, its able editor, supply invaluable background on complicated developments in Chilean and foreign news.

A separate edition of the *Mercurio* is published at Valparaiso and this, which was founded in February 1826, ranks as the oldest continuous publication in the Spanish language. Another edition of the *Mercurio* is published at Antofagasta.

The *Mercurio* is a great business success and, in fact, it was the first newspaper in South America which achieved this distinction.

It is significant that Bartolomé Mitré, who later founded the *Nación* at Buenos Aires, worked for a number of years on the *Mercurio* staff in Santiago.

The other newspapers of Santiago are, frankly, party organs, with corresponding virtues and vices. The status of the *Nación* is peculiar to Chile, or, at least, there is no equivalent in the United States. A large part of its stock is owned by the government and it, accordingly, supports whatever regime is in power.

Then there are the *Diario Ilustrado*, the organ of the Conservatives; the *Hora*, organ of the Radicals; and the *Opinion*, organ of the Socialist party.

In addition to Valparaiso, where the *Mercurio* and the *Union* are outstanding newspapers, there are, reading from top to bottom of the map, good newspapers in Antofagasta, in Talca, Chillan, Concepcion, Temuco, Valdivia, Osorno and Punta Arenas—the southernmost city in the world, which I have often wished I had been able to visit.

These newspapers believe that the duty of the opposition is to oppose, and, as a visitor who had developed a great liking for the people of Chile, I was sometimes surprised and shocked to learn of the crimes and misdemeanors which, according to the opposition press, government officials were committing in wholesale lots. I was there during the presidential race between the late Juan Antonio Rios and General Carlos Ibanez, and it can only be said that the charges and counter-charges made me feel pretty much at home.

The atmosphere around the *Mercurio* is very much like that which I used to know when, as a New York *Times* correspondent in London, I had my office in the London *Times* building. Tea is duly served at 4:30, and the whole atmosphere is reminiscent of Printing House Square. The two newspapers, in fact, have an additional point in common, for both of them tend to support the government in power, or at least to give its measures favorable consideration unless they are completely out of line with the policy of the newspaper.

I would like also to make a special mention of the *Diario Ilustrado*, which I found an extremely well-written and well-edited newspaper, something on the style of the now extinct *Morning Post* in London. Whether you agree with its viewpoint or not, as a newspaperman you have to praise an excellent newspaper.

I also enjoyed reading a weekly magazine of opinion, *Topaze*, which is edited by Jorge Delano, a distant relative of the late President Roosevelt. The *Topaze* lives and breathes politics, and its articles, and above all its cartoons, would soon drive an American (United States of America, that is) politician into exile. Chilean politicians, though, are made of sterner stuff, and go on their way unconcerned.

Chileans have developed their own version of Spanish, just as we North Americans have developed our own version of English, and *Topaze* seldom resorts to classical Spanish when it can find a local word which will inflict a more resounding slap on the current object of its detestation. I was bold enough when I arrived to think that I could read Spanish at sight, but I seldom managed to

Case History of A

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Chief UN Correspondent, New York Times

appreciate without a glossary the puns and double entendres of *Topaze*.

Unlike the custom in the United States, where careers of newspapermen and diplomats seldom blend, Chile has produced a number of outstanding practitioners of both trades. I am thinking particularly of Carlos Davila, Felix Nieto del Rio, who is now Ambassador to Washington and Benjamin Cohen, now United Nations Assistant Secretary General for the Department of Public Information, the only Latin American at the top-level of the United Nations secretariat.

From the point of view of production, the newspapers of Chile, like those of the rest of Latin America, have been greatly handicapped in recent years by their inability to obtain new machinery. First came the war, which interfered with the procurement of machinery from the United States and Great Britain, and then after the war the fall in the price of copper—one of Chile's principal exports—greatly reduced the supply of foreign exchange.

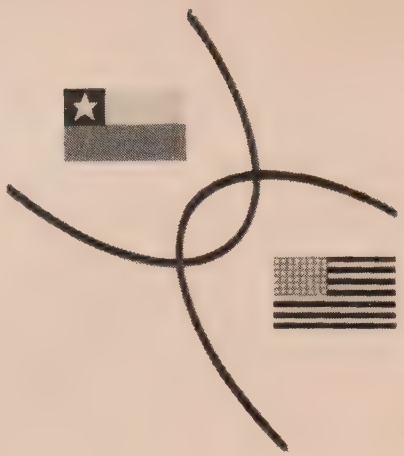
Unless the situation has greatly changed since I was there, therefore, the reproduction of illustrations, for example, is not up to the high standards of American or British newspapers. However, the Chilean newspapers are on their toes: Senor Cohen was telling me the other day, for example, that no less than four-fifths of the articles published in the *Sur* are written in Santiago and sent on the teletype every night to Concepcion, 350 miles away.

It is difficult to single out outstanding newspapermen in Chile, but, in addition to Senor Maluenda, I think there is general agreement that the following are of the top rank:

Hugo Silva, formerly of the *Mercurio* of Antofagasta; Luis Silva of the *Diario Ilustrado;* and Alfredo Silva, editor and publisher of the *Union* of Valparaiso, who is well and favorably known at Lake Success because of his services on the Human Rights Commission.

A TYPICAL CARTOON carried by *Topaze*, represents Chilean politicians as coy chorus girls in a dressing room.

Free Press



Chile and The United States

By HORACIO WALKER LARRAIN
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile

THE interdependence of nations is greater every day. For this reason it is no longer possible to deal properly with the relationships between any two States, as these are almost always affected by universal or regional factors. Not only are the official relationships from government to government of importance, but also the relations between peoples deserve attention in an ever increasing degree. If we add to this consideration the fact that a great power, such as the United States, must inevitably take into account the world scope of its action, it is easy to appreciate the limitations surrounding a theme like the one just outlined.

Furthermore, I can take the point of view only of my own country; this explanation, obvious though it is in my case, must nevertheless be put forth.

The actions of the United States and Chile follow parallel paths in these two spheres of international endeavor: in the United Nations, on a universal level, and in the Organization of American States, on a regional level. In both instances the two countries, in union with others, have accepted certain aims and purposes that they hold in common, namely the firm resolution to maintain the peace and international security, and neighborly cooperation.

But I want to speak here of the direct relations between the United States and Chile, and their people. Fortunately, these have been maintained in close cordiality.

The similarity between the democratic institutions of both countries gives them a common ground for an understanding that greatly facilitates the solution of all of their problems. At present common ideology and democratic practices have made them fight side by side against totalitarianism, of whatever shade it might be. There has been no agreement to do this except a mutual need of defense from the enemies of freedom and Occidental civilization. Defense of democracy is one of the basic principles in national and international Chilean policy. Our actions within and outside our country prove it. Such conduct also becomes a sustaining point in our relations with the United States. Both countries consider the social and economic improvement through international collaboration of true democracies as the best rampart against communism.

The geographic distance between Chile and the United States has been a great obstacle to the better understanding between our peoples. It cannot be denied that there might be many errors to dispel in the minds of both, errors fostered by ignorance and prejudice. That is why a greater exchange on all levels is so necessary today. Lately the work of certain propagandists interested in creating disturbances and misunderstanding has added to the common stock of errors. In Chile, for instance, this propaganda employs the old and worn-out motto of "yanqui imperialism," an expression that Communists and fellow-travellers have tried to endow with new life, for the purpose of undermining the prestige of the United States among Chileans. The same subversive elements in the United States, aided sometimes by people of good faith, present an undemocratic picture of the government of Chile to the eyes of the American public. The government of the United States knows that in my country all rights and freedoms are respected. But Communist elements have created this phantom about Chile here in the United States because they know very well that in Chile, they will not be permitted to destroy those very same freedoms that they so hypocritically pretend to uphold.

No doubt economic and commercial relations between Chile and the United States have developed lately at a faster pace. The two main exports of Chile, copper and nitrate, find their best market in the United States. But the great progress achieved by the Chilean people, its growing cultural status, the firm consciousness of its civic and social rights, the betterment of its standard of living, make imperative the economic development of the country, a better use of its resources and a diversification of its production. Partly because of its mineral wealth and geography, Chile has a logical reason for the multiplication of its industries. The last Chilean governments have worked toward this goal, with important technical and financial aid provided by the United States. We find ourselves now hitting the full stride of this process, necessitating the imposition of sacrifices on us and the collaboration of foreign capital. In this respect we have had confidence and we continue to have it, not only in the actions of the United States but also in private American investments.

I only wish to add to this brief synthesis of the relations between the United States and Chile that both countries can face the future with optimism. A more active rhythm can be detected in the mutual collaboration on the political as well as on the economic and social levels, collaboration that will bear fruit for the common benefit of our respective peoples and for the entire brotherhood of nations on this continent, within the good-neighbor spirit that animates every one of them.

There's only One America

By CARL VAN DOREN

The University of Chile in Santiago, which opened its doors in 1843, is the heir to the traditions of the Royal University of San Felipe, founded in 1760. It is engaged in a program of intensive scientific research and today, after a century of continuous expansion, it has a student body of more than six thousand.

OF ALL the proposals anywhere brought forward for drawing the people of the two Americas, which are really one America, together, none is more fundamental and yet more practical than the proposal that one elementary schoolbook on The Story of America be written and introduced in all the schools from the northernmost to the southernmost parts of the Continent of America. Whether read and taught in French, English, Spanish, or Portuguese, it would be the same story.

It would show the children, with the help of globes, not maps merely, how the earliest Americans came from Asia in prehistoric times and spread over the vast new hemisphere they discovered. Then much later other waves of Americans came from Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Sweden, England, and finally from all the European countries and from many tribes of Africa. Asia, Europe, and Africa, from different directions round the globe, met in America.

America is historically a colony whose mother country is the world.

From being at first a colony, or colonies, America has grown to have a general way of life which is its own. In spite of the different languages which Americans speak and the different forms of local government under which they live, they have in common the fact that they are of diverse origins and that peoples of many traditional cultures have here managed to live together with a minimum of conflict.

Therefore let the children of all the American languages and local governments learn, in the simplest terms, how their ancestors came to America; and how they formed communities and states; and how they became independent of particular mother countries; and how this modern American community or state differs from that other. But let them also learn, and bear in mind, that America is one, and that all Americans are Americans.

From this it will be only a step for a child, hearing that story with the globe before him, to go on to realize that the New World of America belongs to the general family of mankind that spread hither from Asia, Europe, and Africa. To be a citizen of any American state is to be an inhabitant of all America, and a fellow-being with all the world.

National governments everywhere of course educate their children to be citizens of their individual states. There may be resistance by some states or by groups within some states to a Story of America presented on such broad terms as are here proposed. But, in view of the history of relative peace among the countries of America, it seems likely that America, South and North, is the most extensive and varied part of the world in which such a scheme of international education could be carried out, for the benefit of America and of the whole human race.

THE BOOMING PORT OF VALPARAISO, CHILE'S SECOND CITY, WRAPS ITSELF AROUND THE FRIENDLY BAY IN WHI

How to Do Business

By J. PETER GRACE Jr.

THE editors of *United Nations World,* in the belief that many United States businessmen may not be aware of the possibilities that are available to them in the Republic of Chile, have decided to look at the problem of investment in that country from the standpoint of a US firm which has had long experience there.

After almost three-quarters of a century of business association with Chile and Chileans, W. R. Grace & Co. can offer very good evidence of the business possibilities existing between Chile and the US. These opportunities exist not only in trade *between* these two nations but also for those concerns which may wish to do business *within* Chile.

Chile's foreign trade picture is improving yearly. US and Chilean flag ships are carrying substantial quantities of Chile's export surpluses to foreign markets. Comparatively large volumes of US goods regularly move to Chilean ports. Many industrial enterprises within Chile are engaged in expanding their output and in modernizing their capital equipment. Merchandising enterprises, both for export and for consumption in the expanding domestic market, still are enjoying a high level of activity.

Trade statistics show that a steady flow of minerals, lumber, fruits, and other food products are finding their way from Chile to US and other foreign markets. Because of the reversal of climatic seasons, the high-quality Chilean fruits—melons, plums, nectarines, grapes, apples,

REIGHTERS FROM ALL THE WORLD POINT OUT TO SEA

with Chile

and pears—are much in demand in the US during the winter and spring. Onions, garlic, lentils, beans and chickpeas—products of the fertile soil of Chile's Central Valley—find markets in other Latin-American countries, in Europe, and in the US.

Copper, Chile's largest single producer of dollar revenue, continues to find its most important market in the US. Our nation never should forget Chile's important contribution to the allied war effort during World War II when this gallant nation supplied a greatly stepped-up copper production at very reasonable prices during the entire war.

Natural nitrates are another item which bulk large in outbound shipments from Chile and their superior qualities as a major element of certain types of fertilizers should give assurance that they will continue to provide substantial dollar, and other currency, exchange for many years to come.

Manganese, sulphate of soda, wool, skins, hats, phonograph records, iodine, oregano, and quillay bark are only some of the many Chilean products which appear frequently on the lists of passenger-cargo and freight ships. By themselves they speak effectively of Chile's productive capacity, of the technical ability of her people, of the fertility of her soil, and of the riches hidden deep in her earth.

When doing business within Chile, there are numerous opportunities to participate in the industrial expansion of that nation in cooperation with Chilean nationals who possess not only capital but in addition a wide amount of technical "know how." It is hoped by all those in the US who do business with and in Chile that the governments of the two great nations will continue the constructive steps that have been undertaken to facilitate not only the movements of goods between them but also the flow of capital. Steps that have been taken in this direction by the US Government include the temporary reduction of the excise tax which applied to Chilean copper. It was reduced temporarily from four cents per pound to two cents per pound. Those who are interested in trade between the two countries hope that this temporary measure will be put on a permanent basis by Congress.

On its part, Chile has promulgated legislation designed to attract private foreign capital. The provisions of this law include guarantees for the conversion to US dollars and the remittance of Chilean currency earnings, as well as for the return of the original capital investment over a reasonable period of time. Undoubtedly, further steps will be taken, in the near future, to encourage the flow of capital from the US to Chile—including, of course, the elimination of double taxation.

One of the most important domestic Chilean industries is that of textiles. By the end of 1950 Chile will be producing annually 100 million yards of cotton textile goods. The goods will be bleached, dyed, printed, and Sanforized up to US standards. They represent a wide range of cotton textile production. By the end of this year more than 5000 looms will be in operation in Chile on cotton goods alone. Many of the mills have been built since the war and are of the most modern type in the world. Most of this textile machinery is of US manufacture.

Chilean woolen goods are famous for their quality and diversity of styles. The Chilean woolen textile industry consists of approximately 1400 looms; the majority are of the most modern type. Production of woolen goods amounts to 10 million yards annually. The Chilean woolen industry has a natural advantage in being able to purchase, at the source, the various grades of fine Chilean wool which come from the Central and Southern sheep-raising sections.

Casa Grace, for forty years, has played a part in both the cotton and woolen industries of Chile, producing a complete range of cotton cloth and heavy type woolen

Business With Chile *continued*

fabrics. At Renca, a suburb of Santiago, Grace has constructed and equipped, since the end of the war, one of the most modern textile mills in the world. The Grace woolen mill at Viña del Mar is being equipped with modern and new machinery to enable the manufacture of higher quality and lighter weight woolen cloth. As Casa Grace progressed in the textile business, an ever-increasing degree of close partnership with Chilean investors resulted in Chilean nationals now owning a substantial part of Grace's textile mills. Furthermore, during recent years the majority of textile technicians have been Chilean engineers.

Within recent years vegetable oils and lard plants have been responsible for achieving near self-sufficiency for Chile in these products. The plants use sunflower seeds and have encouraged the growing of sunflowers commercially to meet raw material demands. As a result the past few years a considerable agricultural development along this line has occurred in the central region of Chile near Lontué. The nation now is able to produce 80 percent of its edible necessities as compared to a negligible amount in 1941. Grace has produced vegetable oil, lard, and by-products in Chile for many years and the Grace oil and lard factory at Viña del Mar recently has been modernized to handle Chilean sunflower seed, after having worked many years with imported raw materials.

Chile's paint industry which uses locally produced oils, consists of four large factories. They manufacture approximately 10,000 tons of paints and enamels per year. Casa Grace has been in the paint business in Chile for a good many years. Its subsidiary, COIA (Compañía de Industrias y Azúcar, S.A.), produces paste and prepared paints, household and synthetic enamels, varnishes, etc. The plant is staffed completely by Chilean technicians. Casa Grace introduced the production of certain paints suitable for the climatic conditions that prevail in the extremely varied zones in this elongated country.

J. Peter Grace, now 37, has worked for his family's firm since graduation from Yale.

Compañía Manufacturera de Papeles y Cartones at Puente Alto, near Santiago, is one of the largest and most modern pulp and paper mills in South America. It produces 35,000 tons per year of a variety of paper and paperboard grades, including newsprint, kraft, writing, off-set, printing, envelope, grease-proof, blotting and toilet papers, and chip, liner, corrugated and manila boards. Much of their production is converted into finished paper products in their own or subsidiary plants.

The company's operations at present are partially integrated insofar as pulp requirements are concerned, producing ground wood and bleached straw pulps, but will be entirely integrated when the installation of chemical wood pulping equipment is completed. Pine and eucalyptus grown in southern Chile will be utilized for pulp manufacture. Casa Grace has an interest in this mill.

Altogether Casa Grace and its subsidiaries employ considerably more than 4000 persons. Diversified activities along many economic lines bring Casa Grace into intimate contact with almost every phase of Chilean commercial life and economy. This fact plus Grace's nearly 75 years' association with Chileans proves beyond question that you can do business in and with Chile.

As a corollary of its merchandising-for-export business, Grace, by itself, and through subsidiaries and agencies, acts as distributor and wholesaler of a wide variety of imported products. International Machinery Co., a wholly-owned subsidiary, represents such firms as International General Electric Company, Ingersoll-Rand Co., and Bucyrus-Erie Co., and markets a complete selection of machinery and equipment.

Casa Grace together with International General Electric has an interest in Electromat, which manufactures approximately 50 percent of Chile's requirements of electric light bulbs under the G.E. trademark. At the moment this plant is being revamped through the addition of a new glass furnace and modern lamp production machinery. To carry out its expansion and modernization program the capital was recently doubled.

The new equipment at Electromat, and the doubling of the capital funds of that enterprise, the construction of the Renca cotton mill, the modernization of the woolen mill in Viña del Mar, and the expansion in the capacity of the COIA paint plant, are some of the recent developments which demonstrate admirably our belief that Chile's is a dynamic economy, capable of expansion—holding the promise of substantial growth in invested capital.

The many hydro-electric projects already carried to completion, or still in the process of construction, indicate adequate power for future industrial developments. Hydro-electric power will be utilized for deep-well pump-

ing in new irrigation projects in Chile. Recent purchases have included a considerable quantity of water well-drilling equipment for this enterprising project of the Corporación de Fomento de la Producción. The new steel mill at Huachipato, near Concepción (which uses Chilean iron ores and Chilean coal for coking), should prove to be a firm foundation for still further economic growth. Experience has taught us that as a nation raises its standard of living by expanding and diversifying its production along sound economic lines it becomes an even better customer for manufactured goods. Chile's role in the world economy and in world trade seems destined to expand in the future as it has during the past generation. Casa Grace is proud of the role it has played in the economic growth of Chile and is happy to express to those who may be contemplating capital investments in that nation its well-founded conviction: There's business for *you* in Chile.

Chilean Trade with the U. S. is Increasing

(Figures in Millions of U.S. Dollars)

EXPORTS TO U.S.	JAN.-JUNE 1948	JAN.-JUNE 1949
Copper and Manufactures	$65.2	$78.2
Sodium Nitrate	15.2	16.5
Iron Ore and Concentrates	3.4	3.7
Lead and Manufactures	*	2.2
Vegetables, Fruits & Preparations	2.8	1.4
Unmanufactured Wool	1.0	1.1
Miscellaneous	2.4	2.2
TOTAL	**90.0**	**105.3**
IMPORTS FROM THE U.S.		
Industrial Machinery	$9.1	15.9
Iron & Steel-Mill Products	6.0	14.6
Electrical Machinery & Apparatus	4.5	8.1
Raw Cotton, Except Linters	*	5.8
Automobiles, Parts & Accessories	3.1	5.4
Petroleum and Products	1.5	2.8
Agricultural Machinery & Implements	1.0	2.5
Iron & Steel Advanced Mfrs.	.7	1.7
Medicinal & Pharm. Preps.	.8	1.7
Misc. Machinery and Vehicles	1.6	1.5
Cotton Yarn for Manufacturing	.9	1.3
Industrial Chemicals	1.0	1.2
Rubber Manufactures	.7	1.1
Clay and Products	.7	1.1
Wood and Paper	.6	1.0
Miscellaneous	10.0	10.0
TOTAL	**42.2**	**75.7**

*Under $50,000

The United States Is the Largest Source of Chilean Imports

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IMPORTS

	1937	1938	1947	1948
UNITED STATES	29%	38%	44%	42%
GERMANY	26%	26%	—	1%
PERU	8%	6%	13%	13%
ARGENTINA	4%	4%	11%	10%

Fair Deal For The Chilena

The woman conductor early became a feature on the trolleys of oldtime Santiago.

By ANA FIGUEROA

Minister Plenipotentiary, Alternate Representative of Chile to the United Nations.

CHILE was the 12th American nation to grant (in 1948) equal political rights for women. But for many years before, Chilean women have enjoyed rights and prerogatives that still go unrecognized in other countries. The Chilena is therefore well prepared to play a vital role in the scientific, cultural, civic, social and economic activities of her country.

In 1877, when our National University admitted women, Chile became the first Latin American country to enable them to pursue university studies on an equal plane with men. Since that time, a little more than half a century after Chile's independence, women have become leaders in science, the professions and the arts.

The whole world has heard about our own Gabriela Mistral, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1945. Her poems reflect the soul of Chile. The virtuosity and talent of pianist Rosa Renard have been cheered on the world's greatest concert stages. The foremost museums everywhere have exhibited the sculptures of Rebeca Matte.

Today, the percentage of women in the liberal professions is high. In teaching, law, medicine, architecture, engineering and other spheres—whether traditionally masculine or not—they are given every opportunity to achieve their fulfillment. In the judicial field, they are judges of Labor and Criminal Courts and clerks of the various tribunals. In Social Service—a field which has been turned over to women in its entirety—Chile's position is foremost.

Women are encouraged to pursue their various interests and their accomplishments have resulted in recognition and professional prestige. Their influence has extended far beyond Chile's national borders. Several Latin American countries have called upon the technical know-how and cooperation of our professors and social workers in the establishment of Teachers' Colleges, Pedagogical Institutes and Social Service Schools.

But Chilean women are equally at home in the nonprofessional field as well. They have participated in the agriculture of our country since its independence, and today, one out of every three workers is a woman. Their efficiency and production in highly specialized factory work is acknowledged, and they are protected by labor laws which prescribe equality of working conditions and wages for both men and women.

In addition to being our Poet Laureate, Gabriela Mistral had the distinctive honor of being appointed the first woman Consul of Chile by Act of Congress in 1935. It was a double honor indeed, because Chile was one of the first countries in the world to appoint women to the diplomatic and consular services.

Carmen Vial de Señoret became our Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Netherlands in 1946, and Chile thus became the fifth country in the world to appoint a woman to this high rank.

The constant interest and alertness of our women in the face of national and world problems have enabled them to make an effective and highly valuable contribution to domestic and international conferences. Women frequently have been appointed to represent Chile, and at the first and third sessions of the UN General Assembly two women carried the rank of Plenipotentiary Delegates. At Lake Success, Amanda Labarca was Chief of the UN Division on the Status of Women for a year.

This feeling of civic and social responsibility is the product of deep spiritual maturity—a maturity that has evolved from the living and breathing democracy of the country, which by its culture and traditions respects the rights and dignity of all persons.

But even though our women have contributed so much to these spheres of endeavor, it was not until two years ago that they were granted full political rights, due to

Señora de González Videla, Chile's First Lady, led women's campaign for full political rights.

Gabriela Mistral, Nobel Prize winner, is Chile's most distinguished living writer.

Miss Chile of 1950, Señorita Echeverria, at Santiago's Los Leones Golf Club, is one of Chile's distinguished sights.

the vision and perseverance of President González Videla.

The right to vote in municipal elections had been granted in 1934, and in 1938, a woman became the first mayor of a capital city in America. For many years, women's organizations and women of all shades of opinion led a continuing campaign to obtain Congressional legislation that would grant them full political rights—without which they could not be considered as voting citizens, according to the Constitution of the country.

For over a period of ten years, all proposed legislation was promptly pigeonholed. What was worse, the country had become accustomed to accepting women in high administrative positions, in the courts, in the diplomatic service, and in all civic and political activities, without giving them the legal recognition to which they were entitled. Moreover, it generally assumed that women didn't need any. But the present government really acted on women's right. Under the leadership of Señora de González Videla, and with the support of the President, Chile's women finally obtained complete equality in 1948 when Congress passed the necessary legislation on women's suffrage.

The women of Chile have not yet voted in presidential or parliamentary elections. When they do so, in 1952 and 1953, one can be sure that several women will be elected to both houses of Congress and it is not far-fetched to predict that even before that time, women will be appointed to Cabinet posts.

It is only through truly democratic processes that the women of Chile were able to obtain their present position of influence in domestic and international affairs. And the whole process was facilitated by the ever-growing civic consciousness of the country, as well as the inspirational leadership of President González Videla.

A Democracy In Action

By CLAUDE G. BOWERS
US Ambassador to Chile

AMONG the great Liberators of South America, the foremost democrat of them all was O'Higgins of Chile. He had the democratic concept of a good society, basing his philosophy of government on the Jeffersonian contention that its primary purpose is to protect the citizen in his fundamental rights and freedoms, and not arbitrarily to impose its will. While in his day he was unable to achieve his program, his ideas and ideals reached the masses of the people and from that day to this the Chileans have been staunch supporters of democracy. They are instinctively democratic. Democracy permeates their thinking. It is inherent.

The governmental structure of Chile has as its foundation an enlightened democratic constitution for which the people have a profound respect. It bears a striking resemblance to that of the United States.

The three coordinate branches of the Government, the Executive, Legislative and Judicial, are each independent. Thus the Executive branch can sponsor and urge legislation which the Congress can enact or reject. Laws enacted are subject to the President's veto, but Congress has the power to pass over the presidential disapproval. And laws enacted by Congress and signed by the President can be challenged in the courts and set aside as null and void if violative of the letter and spirit of the nation's fundamental law. When the Court speaks, the people acquiesce.

In the Chilean state, the fundamental freedoms, such as are assured in the North American Bill of Rights, are sacredly guarded. The citizen is free to think and openly speak his honest thought. He may criticize governmental action without fear, and he often does.

The freedom of the press is zealously maintained. The newspapers which are of a high order, may, and often do, criticize, and even vigorously attack governmental measures and activities with no fear of molestation from the police. But because of the calibre of the press, these criticisms are constructive, argumentative and very seldom merely abusive or demogogic.

The right of the people peaceably to assemble in public meetings to discuss governmental measures, actions, or lack of action, is accorded without question. I frequently have seen large assemblies, frankly called to oppose measures or activities of government, proceed without incident in the presence of police. These were sent not to interfere or intimidate, but to protect the remonstrators against molestation in their constitutional right to give utterance to their views.

Religious liberty and tolerance give every citizen the right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.

The sane and effective functioning of Chilean democracy is strikingly manifest in elections. I have often personally observed with admiration the spirit of the Chileans at the polls. Political parties among them, as among all democratic peoples, are divided on principles and policies. The campaigns are fiercely fought on the hustings, but these contests take the form of a debate, and the appeal to the arbitrament of reason is made in objective arguments. They are singularly free from personal abuse. No thugs disturb these meetings with rowdyism of any kind. The press carries the arguments to the people. The election is conducted in an orderly manner, the polls scrupulously protected, the citizen assured of his right to vote his honest conviction without the slightest molestation from any governmental agency. The votes are counted honestly and speedily, the result announced remarkably soon after the closing of the polls, and, with the announcement of the result it is not at all unusual for the defeated candidate to extend congratulations to the victor. The country accepts the verdict as the Voice of the People.

This is cited as an illustration of the universally accepted fact that the Chileans are political minded, politically intelligent, and politically mature. In a recent article, not published in Chile, Enrique Santos, perhaps the most brilliant journalist in South America, a distinguished Colombian, set forth his impression of Chilean democracy and the Chilean people, after serving in Santiago in a diplomatic capacity. He was profoundly impressed by the political intelligence and maturity of the Chilean people, by their culture, and above all by their determined protection of the elemental freedoms. He found Chile a healthy, functioning democracy where the people are the masters and not the mere cup-bearers of the state; and he pronounced the Chilean democracy an example for all the republics of the continent.

I am sure the most brilliant magazine of satire in the world today is *Topaze* of Santiago, which does not pull its punches in its clever cartoons and comments. These amuse and are seldom resented. I am sure that the saving salt of the Chilean character in the maintenance of the orderly processes of democracy is in the sense of

humor. The Chileans debate hotly, often dispute bitterly, but the termination of political controversies with guns and knives would disgust them as childish and absurd. Political opponents are able to maintain pleasant personal and social relations because they are politically civilized. They can differ without hatred.

These traits have been invaluable in the preservation of Chile's peaceable relations with neighboring nations. Differences, and even incidents that appear at wide intervals are invariably discussed editorially in the press with dignity and calmness and with a decent respect for the sensibilities of the neighboring nation. Incidents that might too easily lead to serious consequences are never exploited in the press with sensational phrasing or hysterical headlines, for the Chileans are essentially a peace-loving nation, and the press appreciates its responsibilities. I know there will never be a war in South America precipitated by Chilean rashness or offensive action. Chile has no territorial ambitions. Determined to maintain her territorial integrity, she casts no covetous eyes on the territory of any neighbors. She covets their friendship.

It follows from all this that Chile is antipathetic to military government. She does not accept the man on horseback. Happily, the Chilean Army is soundly democratic. Coming from the people, it differs in no sense from the civilians in its ideology. It recognizes as its proper function the preservation of law and order, the defense if need be of its territory from invasion, and the support of the legally constituted authorities.

Being a soundly functioning democracy, Chile has pioneered in South America in social legislation. This results from its conviction that a primary purpose of a democratic state is to assist the people in the pursuit of happiness. While the tragic aftermath of war hampered the program for the social and ecomonic lifting of the masses, its goal is the same and progress is being made as rapidly as conditions allow.

And because it is a sane, sound democracy, no nation in the world has taken a more militant stand against communistic aggression from Moscow. No chief of state anywhere has made a more brilliant fight against the philosophy which is the very negation of democracy than González Videla. And in this he has the most loyal support of all political parties, including those of the Opposition.

Again, Chile is pioneering democratically on the continent by granting equal rights to women at the polls, beginning with the next election; and this promises well since the Chilean women, like the men, are politically minded and in politics, national and international, extraordinarily intelligent.

Thus Chile is a bastion of democracy in South America.

The people are free. There are no shackles on the press. There are no police on the platform. There are no police spies at the elbow as in police states. And this freedom is protected by their laws, and these laws are respected by their functionaries.

UNW's Cues to Chile

Chile's national Sunday dinner: *empanadas Chilenas.* Cut into small pieces beef or chicken, and onions. Add cumen, paprika. Fry. Let cool. Add black olives, raisins, sliced hardboiled egg, wrap in dough and bake in oven.

National everyday dish: beans *Chilenos.* Slightly fry two lbs. beans, half pound onions in oil or butter. Add corn, mashed pumpkin, seasoned with cumen, origen, paprika, and half pound salt pork, and slow-boil for two hours.

National drink: red wine. The new wine is *chicha.* The raw, strong, white brandy (*agua ardiente*) is not much used.

National dance: *cueca,* a handkerchief dance in which the man executes very fast, intricate footwork around the woman. Betweentimes the couple stamp at one another and whirl separately.

National delicacies: *frutilla,* a very large strawberry; *lucuma,* an indescribable golden-fleshed fruit the size of a green peach; a very tasty small lobster.

National bad habit: drinking.

National good habit: hard work.

National holidays: Sept. 18, Independence Day; May 21, Battle of Iquique, celebrating a naval battle the Chileans lost with memorable heroism to the Peruvians.

National symbols: the condor, a huge mountain vulture with a wing-spread of nine feet; and the huemul, a deer. Hungry condors sometimes eat huemul fawns.

Cartoonists' symbol for Chile: Verdejo (a common Chilean family name) drawn as a ragged, barefoot peon.

National high point: Mount Aconcagua, highest (four miles) in the Western Hemisphere, famous in the US as the villain of a Walt Disney movie about a baby airplane.

Chile's George Washington: Bernardo O'Higgins, a second-generation Irishman from County Meath.

The Birth of a People

By ALBERTO LLERAS
Secretary General, Organization of American States

THAT narrow strip of land running west of the Andes from the Antarctic Ocean almost as far North as the equator has features that make its people a compact group, with a strong national individuality. This has been so since the beginning. The Kingdom of Chile, as it was called by the Spaniards until Independence, continued to serve as a stage for combat with the warlike Araucanians when in the rest of the American colonies the aborigines had already yielded.

The constant struggle—300 years long—left its imprint on the young republic, as did also the fact that the Spaniards found in that temperate-zone area physical conditions similar to those of their native peninsula, and well suited to European crops. One more decisive factor was Chile's isolation from the great centers of world trade until the opening of the Panama Canal.

From the start, political life in the Republic of Chile was orderly. Two men had a marked influence on this phase of national development. One of these was Andrés Bello, the philologist and jurist, Bolivar's teacher, who adopted Chile for a second fatherland and came to enjoy there the greatest respect and prestige. The other was Diego Portales, the authoritarian organizer.

Chile had a government of landowners from the days of the colony until 1920. These men were Spaniards, feudal gentry whose unwritten prerogatives gave them complete control over vast tracts of land with all there was to be found thereon: men, cattle, even the administration of the small hamlets that clustered near their property. Some of them brutal, others kindly, but all jealous of their power, they held the reins of the local government of Chile for centuries, and when the Republic came, their influence was paramount in the central government. They made and unmade ministers of state, senators, laws. They controlled the votes and their power did not lessen, but actually increased, with the extension of suffrage. But the *huasos* (Chilean peasants) who submitted to their guardianship did not do so docilely.

To be master of the estate required exceptional qualities of enterprise, administrative ability, and a taste for taking part in the affairs of the small community. The selection of the master did not always follow lines of direct inheritance. For that difficult post families were careful to choose one of their members who showed special aptitude; and the country was once full of rural leaders who were marked for their fortitude and their progressive spirit. As they gradually disappeared, with the passing of political power into the industrial centers, the countryside was left orphaned.

One of the most noted Chilean writers, Eduardo Barrios, has given a marvelous description in his novel *Gran Señor y Rajadiablos* of the course taken by rural Chile during the past two generations.

Toward the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century this process gains momentum. The concentration of workers in the nitrate mines, the coal fields, and the copper beds, as well as in the non-extractive industries located in Santiago and Valparaiso, produces a daring social policy that rapidly becomes embodied in the country's law. The left, with its keen social sense, wins the votes of those new political masses, and the conservative rural districts struggle to retain political control over the farms and villages. Santiago grows at a dizzy pace, until it holds one fifth of all the people of the nation. Of all Latin America, this nation, with the smallest number of orators, is nevertheless in the front ranks of those that preserve a stalwart parliamentary tradition.

Democracy in Chile is not so much a legal institution as a deep-rooted attitude.

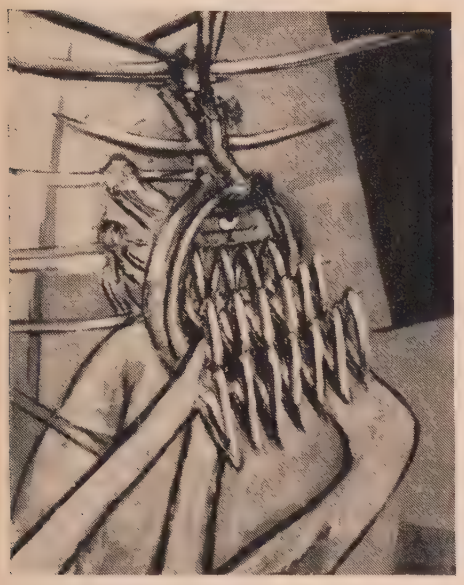
The men who colonized Chile from the Iberic Peninsula were chiefly Basques and Castillians, two racial strains that are notably difficult to manage by any system that does not permit the governed to have a hearing. Chile does not have an indigenous group in a state of semi-peonage, as in some of the other Latin American countries, and the masses of the town folk, whose racial origin is identical with that of their leaders, display a strength of character, shrewdness, and charm that inevitably wins the admiration of minorities.

A hard-working race, the Chileans have a special aptitude for industrial pursuits, as well as for seafaring activities. And this is where the people of Chile are once more its great asset. The same type of men who years ago made the national army famous, are now demonstrating remarkable talent for mechanical skills.

Another Chilean source of wealth that has remained almost unexploited is the natural beauty of the land. Southern Chile possesses some of the most dramatic and sublime scenery in the whole world. It is reminiscent of Japan and of the Scandinavian countries. But we need not go down so far as the Straits of Magellan to admire Chile's natural loveliness. Just back of Santiago, the Andean range presents an unforgettable backdrop of eternal, breath-taking grandeur. Like a snow-capped wall it rises on the east of the narrow valley in which quivering elms top the fruit groves and mark off the vineyards.

This is a nation of scenery, tradition, and character. Other lands have these qualities too, in varying degree. But Providence has seen fit to endow Chile with all these gifts with a lavish hand.

Artistic Ambassadors



MATTA, the internationally recognized painter who studied in Paris, is creator of this constructive abstraction: *"Convict the Impossible."*

CLAUDIO ARRAU, one of the world's top ten pianists. At 47 he has given more concerts in his global tours than any other artist of his age.

RAMON VINAY, tenor of the Metropolitan Opera Company, as Don José in Bizet's Carmen, one of his outstanding interpretations.

MARIA-LUISA BOMBAL, author of several popular novels. *House of Mist* and *The Shrouded Woman* were published in the US.

Friendship vs. Protocol

By WILLARD F. BARBER
US Deputy Asst. Secretary of State

PRESIDENT González Videla of Chile is the fourth Chief of State in as many years who has flown North from another American Republic to visit us. President Truman in his turn has already visited two Good Neighbor countries, Mexico and Brazil. In all this visiting back and forth, a friendly, personal quality has been evident alongside the more formal, protocolarian aspect.

The President of the United States at Chapultepec laid an unheralded and unannounced wreath on the monument to the "Boy Heroes," Mexican cadets who a century ago had leaped to their deaths rather than surrender to US troops. The President of Brazil made a long detour in Tennessee to greet a US citizen who had rendered service to Brazil. The President of Chile, paying tribute to the Unknown Soldier at Arlington, placed flowers also on the recent grave of Congressman Coffey "because he was a friend to Chile"; and in New York City reminded Mayor O'Dwyer with a smile that "General Bernardo O'Higgins, the first President of the Republic of Chile, was also of Irish origin."

The past year has seen distinct progress toward hemisphere solidarity as a continuing, and not merely an emergency, policy. The Organization of American States, which is the working machinery of our inter-American system, has proved its efficiency in operation. The Inter-American Peace Committee has shown the way to solution of controversies between American countries and its recommendations have alleviated tensions. The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1947, has been a means for resolving disputes arising from interventionist activities within the hemisphere, while maintaining a united wall of defense against aggression from without. Last month's Extraordinary Session of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, held at the Pan American Union in Washington was evidence of the determination of the American Republics to seek satisfactory settlements of mutual problems in the economic and social fields.

In the reorganization of the Department of State, our own Government created a Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, thus demonstrating the importance it attaches to hemisphere relations. The present Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs is The Honorable Edward G. Miller, Jr., who has spent much of his life in Latin America.

In January and March this year, he attended regional meetings of United States Ambassadors to the other American Republics, at Havana and Rio. Such meetings are now convoked periodically. They afford — in the words of the official report—"an excellent opportunity to reassure and reaffirm the interest of the United States in the inter-American system and in the Organization of American States as the most important expression of law and order in the hemisphere."

Economic cooperation with other nations is a major goal of the United States. In his address on April 14 before the Council of the Organization of American States, President González Videla advocated "understanding in the economic field, which will safeguard the product of our people's toil—the ability to place our essential commodities in the consumers' markets, and cooperation for the development of our wealth....The wealth is there and can be within reach of work, but we need more equipment and capital in order to exploit it systematically."

President González Videla was drawing on his country's tradition when he added that the more bonds of union there are among the countries of this hemisphere, the better we shall be equipped to face the international situation.

Chile has consistently furthered international friendship. It has participated in all Inter-American Conferences, and was a faithful member of the League of Nations as she is of the United Nations. For more than a century, in the field of education Chile has set a high standard of international cooperation. Three great educators and statesmen from other American countries—Andrés Bello of Venezuela, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento of Argentina, and Eugenio María de Hostos of Puerto Rico—at the invitation of the Chilean Government, contributed to the establishment, reorganization and enlargement of Chilean schools and especially of the University of Chile. As a result, education has long been one of Chile's principal exports.

When the present Chilean Ambassador, His Excellency Felix Nieto del Río, presented his credentials to President Truman three years ago, he recalled that Chile, in her struggle for independence, was "inspired by the Philadelphia Constitution." President González Videla has proved himself an unyielding supporter of those principles. A believer in a free press and free elections, in democratic processes of government, and in national self-help as well as in international cooperation, he is readily understood in the United States even by those of our fellow-citizens who speak no Spanish. In the words of The Honorable Claude Bowers, United States Ambassador to Chile, President González Videla has "consistently fought totalitarianism and subversive elements, whether from the right or the left." Chile is in consequence a bastion of democracy in South America.

A Banker's Report on Chile

By HAROLD A. SUTPHEN
Vice President, J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp.

COPPER, for shipment to the US for wire production, is here seen in the usual bar form. Its price fell sharply last year.

IT HAS been my privilege to visit Chile periodically during the last decade and to enjoy there a hospitality and friendliness which has only increased with the years. As a commercial banker, I have had the opportunity to form many associations in official, business and financial circles, and during a recent visit I was impressed once again by the ability and high calibre of these men. Their leadership has resulted in a broadening of the economy and a substantial increase in production but, more important, has been characterized by a vigor and realism which should go far in promoting the country's future welfare.

In the following article, I have attempted to outline the present economic situation in Chile as it appears to me. Naturally, limited space prohibits a detailed report but I believe there is value in drawing a broad picture, if only to gain perspective on the basic problems, programs and developments which are so often obscured by statistical details.

Chile today is well aware of the necessity for contending successfully with the two chronic post-war issues: a continued shortage of foreign exchange and mounting inflation. The extent to which the latter can be checked is largely dependent upon political considerations in view of Labor's determined opposition to anti-inflationary legislation, which already caused the former government's fall in February of this year. Meanwhile, the country's production capacity has been substantially increased along various lines during the past few years, but the development of new industries under the Corporacion de Fomento's program has not yet reached the stage where their production results in a saving of foreign exchange.

Two of the principal producers of foreign exchange are, of course, copper and nitrate. Copper production for the country in 1950 should be about the same as in 1949, around 360,000 metric tons. Anaconda's new sulphide plant at Chuquicamata is scheduled to go into production early in 1952. This first unit will represent about half of a contemplated investment of $135 million.

Nitrate sales should also be close to last year's total, approximately 1,800,000 metric tons for the twelve months ending next June 30th, and this industry is soon to benefit from the newly developed solar evaporation process. The Anglo and Lautaro companies in a joint project have completed their first four evaporation ponds (about 11 acres each) on the pampa, and the adjacent crystallization plant should be ready to operate next July. Results of this unit will be studied for some time before the much larger contemplated program is carried further. However, this first operation should produce annually 40,000, perhaps 50,000 metric tons of Nitrate of Potash which carries a premium of $8-10 a ton over Nitrate of Soda and has a strong competitive market position. The Tarapaca Company also has its solar evaporation project under way with a "butterfly" unit moving on a circular track to spray the salt solution in quickly drying layers on the pampa, thus creating a high-grade "caliche" which is then picked up for crystallization treatment.

Under the Corporacion de Fomento's program which

A Banker's Report *continued*

has been developed with financial assistance from the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the hydro-electric projects of ENDESA (Empresa Nacional de Electricidad S.A.) have added 175,000 kw capacity to the country's pre-war total of 250,000 kw (exclusive of the 250,000 kw produced by plants of the copper and nitrate companies). Additional facilities for a further 65,000 kw output are actually under construction, and new plants to be installed at Cipreses (Talca) and Los Molles (La Serena) will bring in 100,000 kw more. This makes no allowance for the Calafquen plant of around 50,000 kw which will eventually be added to the system. Thus the construction program through 1952 will bring Chile's hydro-electric capacity up to 600,000 kw (excluding the nitrate and copper companies' 250,000 kw).

Considerable progress has also been made on the Cia. de Acero del Pacifico (Steel Mill) project at Huachipato on San Vicente Bay. The pier, raw material conveyors and coking ovens are complete. Work should be completed by early May on a 600 ton (per day) blast furnace, a Bessemer converter and two open-hearth furnaces, at which time the sheet and plate mill now operating with imported raw materials will swing over to a completely domestic basis. The blooming and merchant mills should also be ready to operate at that same time.

Production will approximate 180,000 to 200,000 tons, from which domestic consumption of 150,000 tons can be satisfied except for the importation of certain special alloys and shapes. This will leave 30,000 to 40,000 tons available for export, primarily to Argentina, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. The Huachipato plant will include the production of galvanized sheets and tin plate, as well as welded pipe in sizes from 4″ to 12″.

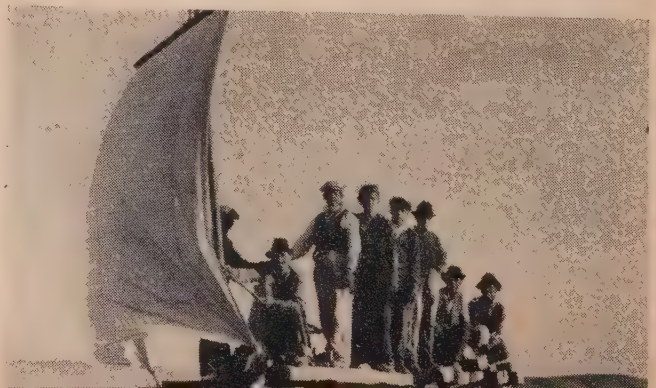
Drilling continues in the Spring Hill oil field of Tierra del Fuego, where 17 wells have brought in oil, 6 gas and 7 are dry. A 55,000 barrel tank at the field is connected by a 42-mile 8″ line to the Marine Terminal, where 4 tanks have been installed with an over-all storage capacity of 270,000 barrels. Current production of 2,000 barrels a day has been sold to Uruguay under a 1½ year contract, at slightly over US$3.00 per barrel, and the first Uruguayan tanker loaded with 112,000 barrels sailed from the terminal shortly after the middle of February.

A refinery is being planned for eventual construction near Valparaiso with a 12,000 barrel daily capacity, just over the country's consumption of oil and petroleum products of 10,000 barrels per day, apart from a 6,000 to 8,000 barrel daily consumption by the copper and nitrate companies. Chile could undoubtedly get any financial help needed for drilling and refining from foreign oil interests if concessions were given to such outside capital, but present policy calls for the continuance of a Government monopoly on the petroleum project, which will be handled by a new autonomous organization owned 100%

CITY IN THE DESERT is the copper town of Chuquicamata, where Anaconda Copper Co. is now building a sulphide plant.

LIKE SNOW, accumulates a drift of nitrates in Tocopilla, good in wartime for explosives and in times of peace for fertilizer.

CLASSIC MOTIVE POWER is used on railway flat-car by the nitrate workers at Tocopilla, set in the bare northern desert.



by the Chilean Government, with all of the country's limited reserves retained for the benefit of the Chilean economy.

The need for agricultural modernization is well recognized in Chile, and one of the most important programs today is the one designed to bring this about. Sizable imports of farm machinery have already been made and plans call for the construction of two irrigation dams. Other projects under consideration are the mechanization of the coal mining and loading facilities at Lota and Schwager, sawmills and cellulose plants in the South, fisheries and canning plants, and eventually the electrification of a substantial portion of the State Railways.

Much of the expense of Chile's industrial expansion has been covered by medium- or long-term loans from the Export-Import Bank or the International Bank, but there has been also an expansion of domestic credit and recourse to foreign exchange for certain raw material imports which have to be covered in the current budget, particularly in dollars. Until the Chilean market begins to receive the output of new industries which will replace imports with a corresponding saving in exchange, this temporary increase in the need for exchange places an additional burden on a dollar budget which has already been cut severely by the break in copper prices last year.

Consideration must also be given to the fact that the exemption of foreign copper from the US import excise tax of 2¢ per lb. expires on June 30th and will come up soon for discussion. The over-all exchange budget for 1950, which amounts to $232,250,000, is some $75 million less than that for 1949, of which $57 million is attributable to reduced exchange income from copper. This year's exchange budget also faces the probability of extra expenditures for imports of wheat and meat because of the unusual drought.

The Central Bank's gold and foreign exchange holdings dropped from $53,100,000 at the end of 1948 to $42,900,000 at the end of 1949, and a $25 million loan from the Export-Import Bank covered a substantial portion of the deficit in the 1949 exchange budget. This, however, only takes care of a temporary situation and the real remedy lies in a continued cut in exchange used for imports while every effort is made to stimulate export markets.

With steadily rising internal prices the peso-dollar rate has necessarily been adjusted upwards. Last December, in consultation with the International Monetary Fund, temporary establishment of a rate of 60 was announced and most imports now carry this figure.* Exporters receive varying rates based on combinations of the old official rate of 31 and the new figure of 60. The average rate to exporters is close to 53½. In the non-commercial free market the dollar is now around 97, having gone just over 100 two or three months ago.

Last winter with representatives of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Santiago, Chile's problem of inflation was thoroughly reviewed and a program for combating the same agreed to by leaders of the principal political parties. A single exchange rate was to be established with corresponding adjustments in taxes on the nitrate and copper companies, also certain new internal taxes, credit, price and wage controls.

The first legislation towards this end, however, presented by former Finance Minister Jorge Alessandri in February, covered the freezing of wages and prices. Labor, fearing an effective check on wages and a nominal control only on prices, with many essentials moving into the black market, immediately took a stand against the proposed law. The paralyzing effect of widespread strikes directed through the well-organized unions of laborers and white-collar workers was so great that the Govern-

*Since the above was written, a permanent rate of 60 pesos to the dollar has been announced.

NATURE VIVE

By Vicente Huidobro

A poem by the great Chilean poet who died last year. Translation by Dudley Fitts.

To the accordion he leaves the end of the world
Pays with the rain for the last song
There where the voices join a huge cedar is born
More soothing than the sky

A swallow says Papa to me
An anemone says Mama to me

Blue sky there and in the wolf's mouth
Blue Mr. Sky who moves away
What's that you say Where will he head for

Ah, the lovely blue blue arm
Give your arm to Mrs. Cloud
If you are afraid of the wolf,
The wolf with the blue, blue mouth
With the long long tooth
To eat up Grandmother Nature

Mr. Sky scratch out your swallows
Mrs. Cloud extinguish your anemones

The voices join above the bird
Greater than the tree of Creation
Lovelier than a current of air between two stairs.

From *Latin American Poetry*
Edited by Dudley Fitts [New Directions Press]

WISDOM OF THE ANDES

Give talent to man
And to woman, the power of resistance.

A friar who has not slept in his cell
Is better known to the Devil than to God.

Men marry those they wish
Women those they can.

Fine wine is really good
But when water comes from a pure
And clear spring—
Wine is still better.

A Banker's Report *continued*

ment of the previous nineteen months—Radicals, Liberals and Tradicionalistas—fell. After a brief interim Administration Cabinet the President succeeded in forming a new Government of the Radical Party together with the Conservadores (Social-Cristianos), the Democraticos and the Falange—with the Socialists and Agrario-Laborists agreeing to support but not to participate in the new administration.

The entire program of stabilization—single exchange rate, new taxes, price, wage and credit control—has now moved into the hands of the new Government, composed of men of high calibre and wide experience. Just what counter-inflationary measures it will take and how promptly and effectively, remains to be seen, but in any case exchange rates are expected to continue as they are until a report is rendered by the Commission, which has just arrived from the International Monetary Fund.

Studies and recommendations by outside experts such as those from the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations will naturally be of great interest and decidedly helpful, but the anti-inflationary measures which they no doubt will suggest will be most difficult for any Government to put into effect legislatively with Presidential elections coming in 1952 and with opposition from Labor so effective, as demonstrated by the recent success of the unions in checking the stabilization program of the last Government. In fact, new legislation has just been passed which will give further upward adjustments of several billion pesos in salaries and wages to both public and private employees.

The handling of Chile's foreign debt was regularized in July 1948 under Law 8962, which provided for the payment of interest on a sliding scale from 1½% per annum in 1948 to 3% per annum after 1953. This plan was approved by the American Foreign Bondholders Protective Council and has progressed very satisfactorily.

More than $100 million of the $131 million dollar bonds outstanding on the December 31, 1947 effective date of the plan have been exchanged, bringing the dollar percentage of assets to 78%, with the sterling bonds around 93% and the Swiss franc tranche about 67%. Chilean bond prices have been stronger recently with the dollar issues moving up from around 26 in January to over 33 in the current market.

We thus find Chile today well advanced in the program of broadening her basic economy and increasing her production capacity with more and more use of her own natural resources. There has now developed, however, such an internal credit stringency and such a tight foreign exchange position, especially in respect to dollars, that a period of consolidation would seem to be called for in the long-term expansion program, during which adjustments can be worked out within the economy to the higher level of prices and costs and to the reduced foreign exchange availabilities.

Chilean Foreign Trade

(In millions of U. S. dollars)

Year	Exports (f.o.b.)	Imports (c.i.f.)	Export Surplus
1938	$131	$103	$+28
1945	202	156	+46
1946	213	197	+16
1947	277	266	+11
1948	328	269	+59
1949	299	303	— 4

Chile's Export Trade Depends Primarily on Copper and Nitrates

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EXPORTS

	1937	1938	1947	1948
Copper Bars	56%	52%	63%	60%
Nitrates	19%	22%	13%	15%
Total of Copper and Nitrates	75%	74%	76%	75%

Nitrates: Chilean Production Compared with World Sales (Metric tons)

	Chilean Production	World Sales
1943	1,297,788	1,243,040
1944	988,512	1,050,555
1945	1,119,332	1,436,282
1946	1,602,883	1,621,562
1947	1,602,063	1,571,815
1948	1,753,579	1,859,857
1949 (Est)	1,800,000	1,800,000

Chile's Most Important Imports Are Manufactured Products

	Percentage of Total Imports:			
	1937	1938	1947	1948
Machinery & Vehicles	20%	35%	24%	24%
Textiles, Fibres & Cloth	17%	17%	13%	14%
Iron, Steel, and Mfrs.	11%	10%	6%	8%
Sugar and Derivatives	4%	4%	11%	8%

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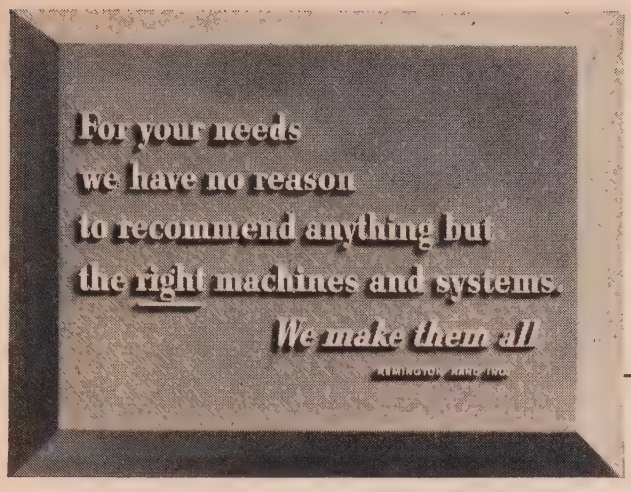
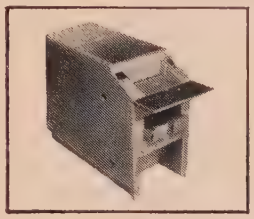


Business Machines and Systems


Microfilming

Electric Typewriters

Accounting Machines

Portable Typewriters

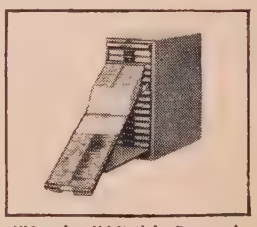
Adders-Calculaters

"Super-riter" Typewriters

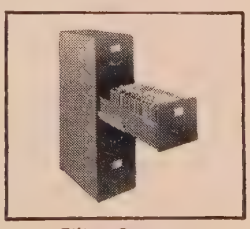
Record Controls and Supplies

Punched-Card Accounting

"Sched-U-Graph"


"Kardex" Visible Records

Carbon Paper & Ribbons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Offset Supplies

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Mrs. Roosevelt

NOT AS YOU would see them in the daily press. Or even, perhaps, as they are supposed to be seen (with diplomatic masks?). These are drawings sketched in the native haunts of diplomats, jotted down on matchfolders, visiting cards, invitations, and on the blank pages of passports—with not a foible, a hidden smile, an expression in front of a mirror escaping the sharp eyes of the artists.

Here is history caught in the act of being made.

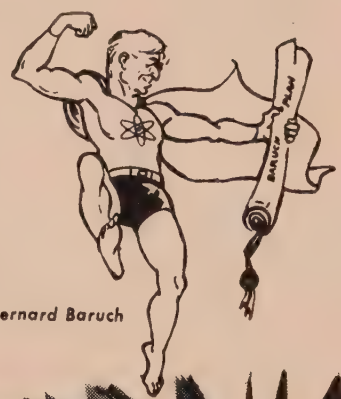
Here are the personalities that are shaping your world.

Isn't it good that you and they can both still laugh?

(though not without reverence.)

THE ARTISTS:

"In a way,"
say the artists
who are also the authors,
"we are headhunters. We collect heads,
and by our special process shrink them
into the right proportions."



Bernard Baruch

Bevin

THIS fascinating headhunting has been going on since 1922 when Derso and Kelen attended the Lausanne Peace Conference. Since then, they have attended all the major conferences growing out of the League of Nations and the United Nations, recording history in their own thought-provoking way.

Their unique style has won them the acclaim of great statesmen. Summing up their remarkable talent, British caricaturist David Low says: "They give you the real man. I don't think their sketches should be considered merely as drawings, but as historical documents, valuable not only now but for future generations."

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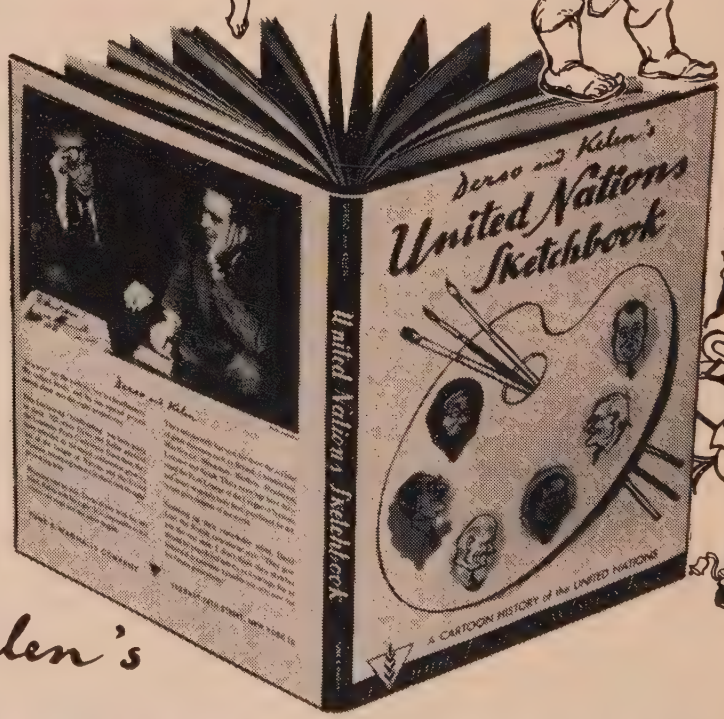

Gromyko

Derso and Kelen's

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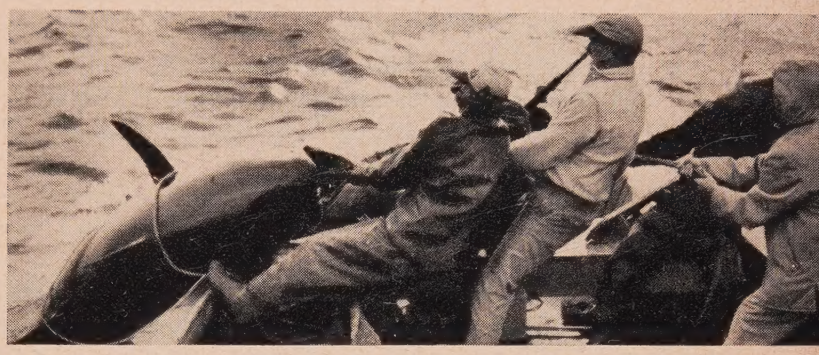
SPORTS SNOW and SEA



By BILL CLEMMENS

CHILEANS are among the world's greatest sportsmen. And no wonder, for they inhabit a country with 3,000 miles of mountain range and 4,000 miles of coast line—an invitation to skiing, deep-sea and fresh water fishing, riding, horse racing, polo, mountain climbing, cricket, tennis and golf.

Skiing was introduced into Chile only thirty years ago but is now a principal sport. The Chilean Andes are said to offer the best skiing in the Western Hemisphere. Annually they attract thousands of sports lovers to Portillo, Lagunillas, Los Azules and Lo Valdes.

The most popular of the Chilean ski resorts is Portillo. The place is a Shangri-la, 10,000 feet up in the Andes, almost entirely concealed by enormous snow-clad mountains. Yet it's not so far from civilization as it appears, only a few hours by train from Santiago and quite near the Argentine border.

One of Portillo's attractions is a ski run they call "Clavos Calientes" (Hot Nails). This downhill run is considered dangerous for the recreational skier but a true test for the expert. Another run, for the more adventurous, starts at the famous Christ of the Andes, near Mount Aconcagua, highest mountain of the hemisphere.

Among the best deep-sea fishing grounds in the world are those located in the broad stretch of the Pacific ocean off Chile's coast. Throughout the year these waters teem with game fish, including that great gladiator of the sea, the broadbill swordfish. The biggest of these ever caught was hooked off Tocopilla. Here also the largest striped marlin are found from December through July. The yellowfin tuna, albacora, oceanic bonito and dolphin—great fighters in their own right—can be picked up as often as the bait is presented.

The fisherman who likes the tranquillity of sylvan lakes or rippling streams casts his line in the Chilean Lake Region. Years ago the many rivers, lakes and streams of this forest area were stocked with rainbow, brown and brook trout which today make trophy-size catches. A fair day's haul will be anywhere from 15 to 50 fish, ranging from 15 to 30 inches in length. On record are rainbow trout weighing as much as 44 pounds.

The lakes are 26 hours by train from Santiago, or slightly longer than it would take to fly from the United States to the Chilean capital. Pan American-Grace Airways planes arrive at Santiago less than 21 hours after leaving Miami.

Chileans are proud of their horsemanship, and rightly so. In international competition Chilean riding teams constantly take the laurels, on horses that are among the finest thoroughbreds in the world.

An Editorial

Every Individual A World

By LOUIS DOLIVET

PERHAPS the most reassuring proof that an immediate world war is not in the making lies in the fact that both East and West are mobilizing for the greatest debate in history.

This debate, on the respective merits of the two ways of life, on the peaceful or warlike intentions of either side, will be by its very nature a protracted one.

At a time when all words which express human progress and freedom have been abused again and again, it will be very difficult for either side to prove its case convincingly to opponents or neutrals. Furthermore, the debate is gigantic in scope. It will reach every inhabited community of the earth, adherents of ten major religions, six major political philosophies, and seven basic economic systems. Aiming to influence over two billion people, its successful prosecution will require years of experience in the vastly complicated fields of human psychology.

Of course, the technical instrumentalities now being massed for this great battle of ideas are unprecedented in their magnitude.

The Soviet world has at its disposal some 800 daily newspapers in the communist-controlled territories, reaching a total of 800 million people. Another 60 dailies, reaching some 5 million active Communists and sympathizers, are published in the non-communist countries.

The Western world has approximately 2,000 dailies, reaching about one billion people who are non-communist in their sympathies, plus another 500 reaching 500 million—in such countries for example as India—who are more or less neutral in their attitude to the East-West conflict. The Western world has no daily in any of the communist countries proper.

In the field of radio, the West enters the battle ranks with over 100 million receivers, while the Eastern world has only 12 million at its disposal. However, the relative proportion of listeners cannot be judged from these figures because of mass listening in the Eastern countries.

Some 65,000 theaters in the Western world, 30,000 in the Eastern, and 2,000 in neutral territories, reaching hundreds of millions of individuals every week, will play a major role in this new global struggle for the minds of men.

After a year or so of this new kind of political experimentation, it will be discovered that technical instruments, however important, are by no means decisive. To win the allegiance of the human mind, one must proceed from the assumption that every individual is a world in himself. The only key which really opens the door to his intellectual and emotional inner sources is the knowledge which permits him to form a judgment between right and wrong.

To provide this knowledge, to spread objective education to the farthest corners of the earth, remains therefore the main task. Even the most convinced believer in the magic power of propaganda will one day discover this elementary truth.

The battle of propaganda is a temporary phenomenon. An outgrowth of the cold war, it will disappear with it. What will remain permanently will be the philosophy and principles of the United Nations, the greatest medium for the education of the people to the knowledge of their own worth and dignity.

We remain profoundly convinced that in the last analysis the overwhelming majority of world public opinion will rally around those governments and philosophies which give the greatest support to the United Nations organization. Despite the present grave crisis, the idea of the UN remains the central rallying point of people everywhere.

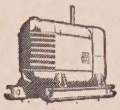
The Nations Of the United Nations

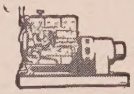
With this special supplement on US-Chilean relations, published on the occasion of the already historic visit of President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, UN World expands its editorial formula. In the future we will provide a full coverage of political, economic, social and cultural aspects of other members of the United Nations.

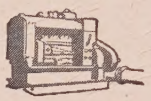
CUMMINS

Welcomes

President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla







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HOTEL MIRAMAR IN VIÑA DEL MAR, "THE BIARRITZ" OF CHILE . . . ROBERT BAGBY

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